# THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZWINGLIAN REFORMATION

# TO AUGUST, 1524

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# VITA

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# INTRODUCTION

A two-fold problem confronts the serious Zwingli student today; first, the absence of a unified approach to and understanding of the nature of the Zwinglian Reformation and secondly, the near total neglect of the German Swiss Reformer by students in the English-speaking world.[1] It is the purpose of this study to remedy this situation, at least in part, by studying the development of the early theology and reformatory work of Huldrych Zwingli in an effort to describe the characteristic elements of the Zurich Reformation.

Zwingli studies in this country have suffered from two unfortunate states of affairs. First, there is a remarkable paucity of Zwingli's works easily available in good translation. The projected Latin Works of Huldreich Zwingli, begun by Samuel M. Jackson, was never completed.[2] The three volumes, which were published, are now long out of print,

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1. The number of scholars publishing in this field in this country has been remarkably small. At present this writer is aware of only a handful: John T. McNeill, whose treatment of Zwingli for himself is somewhat obscured by his work entitled History and Character of Calvinism; Roland Bainton, whose interest in Erasmus has likely led him into studying Zwingli; Bard Thompson, of Drew University; and two former students of Bainton: Charles Garside, Jr., of Rice University, and Robert C. Walton, of the University of British Columbia. In addition, G. R. Potter who is presently completing a two-year appointment at the University of Pennsylvania has been working on a biography of Zwingli for several years, the publication of which will be an important event in English language Zwingli studies.

2. Full publication data of references will be reserved for the bibliography.

nearly impossible to locate, and generally absent from the majority of theological libraries. A promised fourth volume, containing the major eucharistic writings of Zwingli, was never published--even though the translations have long been completed.[3] A companion volume edited by Jackson, Selections from Zwingli, is likewise rare. Volume XXIV of the Library of Christian Classics, edited by G. W. Bromiley under the title Zwingli and Bullinger, made available for the first time in English several treatises of Zwingli. Unfortunately, this volume contains only a few of Zwingli's more important writings, and the usefulness of this work is impaired by occasionally dubious translations and the absence of annotations.

In the second place, until recently, the early development of the Zwinglian Reformation--that is, up to the Baptismal controversies or the rise of the Radicals in Zurich in 1523--has largely been ignored. This has come about because Zwingli studies were being eclipsed by Luther, Calvin, and Anabaptist studies. As a result, Zwingli is usually studied only as he momentarily becomes involved with other representatives of the Reformation, i.e., normally in relation to the baptismal

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3. The translations were done by Mr. Henry Preble for S. M. Jackson. Volumes II and III were published after Jackson's death, but the fourth volume was never finished. The translations, in Preble's handwritten copies, lay for several decades in an office now occupied by Prof. Robert Handy at Union Theological Seminary, New York. Professor Ford Battles and this writer discovered the translations in the Spring of 1966. This writer has transcribed several of the translations into typewritten copies. It is hoped that these works will be brought to publication in the near future. A portion of one of these works, from Zwingli's Essay on the Canon of the Mass, is found in Appendix One. Among the other works included in the collection is Zwingli's Letter to Matthew Alber and the Friendly Exegesis.

views of the Radical Reformation or the eucharistic controversy with Luther. It is the conclusion of this writer that too heavy an emphasis upon Zwingli's sacramental controversies tends to obscure the basic issues of his reforming work; therefore, this investigation shall be directed toward discerning the nature of the Zwinglian Reformation as it developed prior to the baptismal and eucharistic controversies.

A study of the religious and intellectual development of Huldrych Zwingli can provide the framework necessary to an understanding of the nature of the Reformation which came to general fruition in Zurich in 1523-1524, and to specific expression in the writing and publication of a crucial treatise, the Short Christian Instruction. [CR II: 626-663][4] The present study is based on sixteenth century source materials: Zwingli's writings and correspondence, public records, and the writings of Zwingli's contemporaries, including several of the numerous sixteenth century chronicles.

One intention of this writer is to show how the Reformation in Zurich developed naturally in accordance with, and as an expression of, Zwingli's theology--which is itself best understood in the light of Zwingli's personal development, both before coming to Zurich and in the context of practical reform within Zurich. Consequently, Zwingli's

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4. References to Zwingli's works from the critical edition of the Corpus Reformatorum, traditionally cited in abbreviated fashion, shall be indicated within brackets in the text--although henceforth only after direct quotations. The volume number is designated by Roman numerals, page numbers by the following arabic numerals. Lines of the text, if cited, will be the second set of arabic numerals. Thus, this citation is to be understood as Corpus Reformatorum (Zwingli), Volume II, pages 626-663.

youth, education and early years in the pastorate will be studied in the attempt to discover those influences operative in the formation of his theology and reforming work. Primary consideration will be given to an analysis of the writings of Zwingli within the historical milieu from which they were called forth. In the course of this study several treatises, some of which are normally neglected--possibly because they are not translated--will be critically and analytically examined in an effort to describe the theological development of Zwingli. The culmination of this investigation will be the few months following the Second Zurich Disputation--precisely the period of the most significant influence of the Short Christian Instruction. The summer of 1524 will serve as the terminus ad quem for this study; for, by this time the success and direction of the reform movement had largely been determined.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part One, the major part comprised of four chapters, is a study of the nature and development of the Zwinglian Reformation to the summer of 1524. Chapter One describes the education and development of Zwingli prior to his move to Zurich. The experiences of this period, culminating in Zwingli's evangelical discovery in 1516, are the background for understanding Zwingli's reformatory work in Zurich as a search for true religion. Chapter Two is a study of Zwingli's first four years at the Grossmuenster, when the direction of the Reform movement was shaped both by Zwingli's personal development and the events in Zurich. Chapter Three is an analysis of the first ten months of 1523, from the First to the Second Zurich Disputation. It was during this period that the Radicals became an overt

threat to the progress of the Reformation. Several of Zwingli's most important statements of evangelical theology appeared during this time, explicitly revealing the theological foundations of the reform. Chapter Four is a discussion of the nine months following the Second Zurich Disputation, concentrating on the final victory of the Reformed Church in Zurich. The role of the Short Christian Instruction in the Reformation will be assessed and an analysis of its contents will be made to show the bases of the Reformation.

Part Two is an annotated translation of the Short Christian Instruction. By making this treatise available in English for the first time this thesis is providing a pivotal document of the Zurich Reformation. For the purposes of this study, the Instruction is of two-fold significance. In the first place, the document served as a programmatic essay in the development of the Reformation and shall be studied in that light. Second, this treatise is an illustration of the early thought of Zwingli and the nature of the Reformation as it developed out of his theology. The annotations are intended to place Zwingli within the proper perspective of the history of the church, especially as his thought may be compared to that of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Luther and Calvin. The annotations are not a comparative study of Zwingli and other Christian theologians, both Catholic and Protestant. Such a study would indeed be helpful, but this is not within the scope of the present thesis. Hopefully, the analysis of Zwingli's thought made here will provide a basis for such investigations. In the light of the present state of affairs in Zwingli studies in this country, and

recognizing the need for translations of Zwingli's writings, this author has included the Instruction as a theological case study from Zwingli himself.

In general terms the purpose of this thesis is to make a contribution to an understanding of the nature of the Zurich Reformation in the light of Zwingli's early theological development, thus providing a fresh perspective for the further understanding of Zwingli's life and reforming work; to make available in English a study of the early Zwinglian Reformation based upon Zwingli's writings and correspondence, the sixteenth century Swiss chronicles, and the best of modern Zwingli research; to make available an English translation of an historically significant treatise of the Zurich Reformer. However, the primary aim of this thesis is to explicate the major principles of the German Swiss Reformation under Zwingli.

Two co-extensive principles will be shown to have developed and functioned in the organization of Zwingli's theology and the reform in Zurich. It is the contention of this writer that the thought and reformatory work of Zwingli can be consistently understood in terms of a "false-true" religious principle and a "socio-political" corollary. These two principles are based on two characteristic Zwinglian concerns: the search for true scriptural religion coupled with active involvement in the affairs of his people as a minister. It should be understood at the outset that the two related yet separate tenets of Zwingli's Reformation are descriptive and analytical principles, utilized by the present writer for the purpose of describing the essential nature of Zwingli's

theology and reforming work. The intention is to render intelligible the nature of the Zurich Reformation by organizing the major thrusts of Zwingli's theology and work under the rubrics of two co-extensive principles, even though the terminology would have been alien to Zwingli himself. These tenets, the false-true and the socio-political principles, provide methodological concepts for examining and assessing the consistency of the developing Zurich Reformation.

The foundation of the principles is Zwingli's personal faith, which may be described as a search for true religion--although closely related to his reflection on "false" religion. The basis of true religion, witnessed to in the Scriptures and experienced by Zwingli, is that since man is helpless to achieve his own salvation, the creation of the new spiritual man is exclusively a divine work--accomplished through the sole mediatorship of Jesus Christ. All doctrines and practices not consistent with the work of Christ are, according to Zwingli, manifestations of false religion. Christ is the touchstone from which one can properly adjudge religion to be true or false. The development of Zwingli's thought took place in the arena of practical church activity; therefore, his theology will be described in terms of process, i.e., as the fruition of prior development and always setting the stage for further explication. The process is predicated on the constant interaction between Zwingli's understanding of his evangelical experience and his reflection on the abuses inherent in false religion.

From the perspective of his experience of the gracious redeeming work of Christ, Zwingli's recognition of those religious practices not

consistent with the evangelical position led him to formulate explicitly the tenets of true religion. Thus, Zwingli's religious thought can be grasped anew in terms of the false-true dichotomy. False religion rested its confidence in the ability of man to merit salvation in some way--thus denying the sole mediatorship of Christ. In Zwingli's opinion the Roman Catholic Church was the prime example of false religion. Instead of relying on Christ as Head, the papists had placed their confidence in what is less than God--honoring the creature and not the Creator. The reason for this religious aberration, according to Zwingli, was the neglect of the only true authoritative source of true religion: the Holy Scriptures. For, essential to Zwingli's false-true principle is the contrast of a particular understanding of primitive spiritual Christianity as over against the contemporary expressions of religion as he knew them. A constant interaction between Zwingli's interpretation of true religion and his reflections on the abuses of corporeal and sensible religion formed the basis of Zwingli's false-true reforming principle. True piety, as opposed to Roman piety, was understood to issue in an essentially simple form of religious expression characterized by a concentration upon the invisible rather than the visible.

The second category of Zwingli's thought is designated as a socio-political principle. It is indicated separately because it neither grows out of the false-true principle nor is merely an application of it to the social and political realm. Rather, with the false-true principle, the socio-political corollary is a distinctive characteristic of

Zwingli's thought and reforming work. From the first Zwingli inherited a social sense characterized by patriotic feeling. He accepted the political process as an honorable means for the maintenance of the Christian community. This was no mere passive acceptance of the government as an unwanted but necessary evil. Zwingli's willingness to work within the traditional political arena, the Zurich magistracy, was based on his positing a divinely given responsibility of the temporal government to insure the practice of true religion. Throughout Zwingli's reformatory activity it can be seen that he believed the affairs of God were immediately related to the socio-political sphere. Nor can one avoid recognizing Zwingli's continual personal involvement in the society to which he was ministering. Various expressions of this principle, in addition to the acceptance of the political order, can be seen in Zwingli's doctrine of offense, his concern for maintaining social order, educating the people gradually into reform, and making possible a truly lay religion.

The methods and procedures involved in the preparation of this thesis are many and varied. Prior to beginning the actual translation of the Short Christian Instruction, this writer had the opportunity to acquaint himself with both the general theory and practice of translation as well as the specific problems involved in translating Zwingli's Early New High German. He did this by preparing a translation of Zwingli's Exposition of the Twenty-seventh Article [CR II: 253-261] under the

careful guidance of Professor Ford Lewis Battles.[5] After preparing a first draft of the Instruction, paying careful attention to the meaning of the German, the translator prepared under the watchful eye of Prof. Battles, two more drafts, independently of the German--save in those cases where the English was not clear. Several months later a fourth draft was prepared and checked meticulously against Zwingli's German. This draft was then read by a professional, but non-theological, writer--Mr. Thomas Finley-Breeze Morse of Dickinson Associates, Lyme, Connecticut. His criticisms aided immeasurably the English style and clarity of presentation. The fifth revision was then meticulously checked against the critical text by Professor G. R. Potter, Henry C. Lea Professor of Medieval History, The University of Pennsylvania, who approved the translation in addition to making several important suggestions. Part Two of this thesis is the sixth draft of the translation. The goal throughout has been to obtain a reasonably lucid English style that is nonetheless true to the meaning of the original.[6]

In addition, it was necessary to travel to several libraries in search of the basic materials for this study, many of which were later secured through the invaluable services of the inter-library loan facilities of Case Memorial Library. Several days were spent engaged

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5. See H. Wayne Pipkin, "Zwingli, the Laity and the Orders: From the Cloister into the World," Hartford Quarterly, Vol. VIII, No. 2, (1968), pp. 32-41.

6. See also Ford Lewis Battles, "Englishing the Institutes of John Calvin," Babel, Vol. IX, (1963), pp. 94-98, for an explicit discussion of the problems involved in translation and annotation.

in research and bibliographical tasks at the New York City Public Library, Union Theological Seminary Library in New York, the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., the Rice University Library in Houston, the Eden Theological Seminary Library in Webster Groves, Missouri, and the Foundation for Reformation Research in St. Louis. In addition the writer spent a month in Zurich, Switzerland during the summer of 1967 doing research at the Zentralbibliothek and the Staatsarchiv.

Although it cannot be fully expressed, the gratitude of this writer to the several people who made possible the completion of the thesis must be recorded. Acknowledgement is made to Prof. F. L Battles who supervised the early stages of the translation and consented to carry on the difficult task of responding to the remaining chapters by post. It is a pleasure to express my thanks to Prof. LeRoy Moore for his willingness to take on a project in mid-course, and whose critical assessments always added immeasurably to the thesis; and to my ordinarius, Prof. Richard E. Weingart, for being equal to any problem and who--more than anyone else--is responsible for what is of value in the thesis. Without their unselfish help and unfailing encouragement in word and deed I could not have finished. If there is any merit to the translation, credit belongs to two busy friends, Tom Morse and George Potter, whose criticisms served to make a novice writer and translator look better than he is. Gratitude is heartily extended to the staff of the Case Memorial Library, especially Mrs. Carol Hyman, for securing the necessary materials on Inter-Library Loan; to Dr. Ulrich Helfenstein, Adjunkt of the Staatsarchiv, Zurich, for opening the facilities of that great library to me;

to Herr Fred Better, reference librarian at the Staatsarchiv, for his frequent personal help and willingness to endure my spoken German with a sense of humor; and to my colleague Robert Shofner, for a willingness at critical points to bring his theological acumen to my aid.

My wife Arlene was my typist; it is she who is actually responsible for bringing this work to fruition, and only she can know how truly grateful I am. The thesis is dedicated to her.

# PART ONE

## THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZWINGLIAN REFORMATION

## TO AUGUST, 1524

# CHAPTER I

## EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF ZWINGLI TO 1519

Early clues to an understanding of the nature of the Protestant Reformation in Zurich can be found in the early education and development of its chief reformer--Huldrych Zwingli. Zwingli's childhood environment as well as his formal education in Wesen, Basel, Bern, Vienna and again in Basel reveal certain strains of influence which played a role in the development of the Reformer. Although Zwingli's further informal studies at Glarus are significant, his more important involvement in the affairs of his people gives evidence of the development of the social and patriotic concerns which were to be so characteristic of his later work. Perhaps the single most important influence in Zwingli's development is seen in the person of Erasmus of Rotterdam who intensified what were already evident predilections toward a simple, spiritual piety in Zwingli. The investigation of Zwingli's development prior to his move to Zurich is the background of the events in Zurich under Zwingli's leadership.

### A. Development Through 1506

Huldrych Zwingli was born January 1, 1484, in Wildhaus, a small, mountainous farming community located in the rather populous valley of the Thur, the Toggenburg. With a view dominated by snowcapped

Saentis, the Vorarlberg Alps and the Churfirsten, the majesty of the Toggenburg pervaded the soul of young Zwingli, exercising an influence long after he left. Myconius, Zwingli's close friend and first biographer, suggested concerning his hero "that he drew something of divine quality directly from the heavens near which he lived."[1] Though perhaps too romantically cast by Myconius, it is nonetheless obvious that Zwingli's childhood environment was important to him in later years. There were times when Zwingli found it helpful explicitly to identify himself as a Toggenburger[2] and the many letters of Glarean addressed to "Uldrico Zuingli, Doggio"[3] indicate a common identification of Zwingli with the Toggenburg; however, it is the more implicit impact of Zwingli's childhood home which is important for the development of the Reformer.

The characteristic Zwinglian concern for the welfare of the Swiss people can, in part, be traced to his childhood. Walther Koehler

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1. Oswald Myconius, "The Original Life of Zwingli," in S. M. Jackson, The Latin Works of Huldreich Zwingli, Vol. I, p. 2. In addition to Zwingli's occasional autobiographical notes in his own writings, Myconius is a major source for Zwingli's early life. Although his attempt to present Zwingli in as favorable a light as possible necessitates caution in using him, his work is basically reliable. A helpful critique of several Reformation chronicles is Jakob Berchtold-Belart, Das Zwinglibild und die Zuercherischen Reformationschroniken. See his assessment of Myconius' contribution, pp. 12-28.

2. Zwingli identified himself as a Toggenburger in Eine Gottliche Vermahnung an die Eidgenossen zu Schwyz: "dann ich uss der grafschafft Toggenburg burtig und desshalb uch zum teil gewertig sin schuldig bin." CR I: 166: 9-11. See also CR I: 578: 23f.

3. CR VII: 9: 19. Also see CR VII: 11: 13; CR VII: 44: 14, among others.

traces the social and political concerns of Zwingli's theology back to the influences which the notion of a free race living in the Toggenburg exercised upon the sensitive Swiss youth.[4] The traditional stories of Zwingli's youth, which gave him an appreciation for his ancestors, were stories of daring and courage characteristic of the personality of Zwingli the Reformer. Essentially characterized by simple piety, Zwingli's Swiss Fathers knew little of the abuses of religion he later had to encounter. One cannot but conjecture that it was early in his youth that Zwingli gained the appreciation for the people and the state which did not exist in Luther, and which is one of the major characteristic elements of Zwingli's reform.[5] One could not say in this section of Switzerland that Christ did not come for the social sphere of life and that his redemptive activity did not include the political realm. In addition, it is to be remembered that since Zwingli's father was an elected official, the ammann of Wildhaus' valley society, it is to be expected that such a politically alive family environment impressed early on the favored youth the pervasive nature of political involvement. It was hardly possible for Zwingli to avoid such activities; the first room to the left in

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4. W. Koehler, "Zwingli als Theologe," Ulrich Zwingli, 1519-1919, col. 14ff.

5. "Fur eines Mann, dem nach Volkscharakter, Familienvererbung und Kindheitserinnerungen die nationale politische Bestaetigung eine Selbstverstaendlichkeit war, musste sich, Problem geworden, die Frage: Religion und Politik, Kirche und Staat ganz anders einstellen als etwa fuer Luther, in dessen Jugend nichts von Politik hineingefallen ist." W. Koehler, "Zwingli als Theologe," col. 15.

Zwingli's birth house in Wildhaus, entering from the main door, was his father's office. Thus, the love of freedom and the acceptance of politics were part and parcel of the home atmosphere of the young Zwingli.[6] In the light of this early positive influence it is hardly surprising that Zwingli later found it easy to accept the government as a natural companion in his reforming work.

Zwingli also reflects aspects of the physical and cultural milieu into which he was born. His theology was informed by the very surroundings in which he lived. Hence one will not be surprised to find evidence of Zwingli's drawing upon creation to learn of the Creator. Examples of this appreciation for nature which Zwingli gained in his youth can be found; for example, in 1523 he wrote:

> It seems to me to be quite in keeping with Christ's own teaching to bring young people to a knowledge of God in and through external phenomena. For as we bring before them the fair structure of the Universe, pointing them to each part in particular, we learn that all these things are changing and destructible, but that he who conjoined them (and many other things besides) in so lasting and marvelous a whole is necessarily unchanging and immutable. Again, we learn that he who has so skillfully ordered all these things need never be suspected of forgetting or disregarding his handiwork, for even with men it is counted a reproach if the head of the household does not keep a careful watch over all domestic matters.[7] [CR II: 538: 25-29]

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6. See Hermann Escher, "Zwingli als Staatsman," Zwingliana, Vol. V, (1931), pp. 73-93, for a discussion of the influences which Zwingli's early environment exercised on Zwingli the statesman.

7. Huldrych Zwingli, "Of the Education of Youth," in G. W. Bromiley (trans.), Zwingli and Bullinger, p. 104. Hereafter this volume will be designated by the abbreviation LCC 24.

It was not, however, only in terms of a possible natural theology that Zwingli's closeness to nature influenced his thought; for, his theological formulation and expressions frequently disclose the farms and alps of his youth. Farner points out, in what is undoubtedly the most exhaustive treatment of the sphere within which Zwingli developed, that the physical images of Zwingli's youth consistently found their way into his theological assertions.[8] Perhaps the most expressive illustration of this is Zwingli's translation of Psalm 23: 2, where the "green pastures" become "beautiful alpine meadows."[9] In short, as is to be expected, Zwingli cast his theology in terms that were meaningful to himself and to his listeners, thus indicating the close relationship between his personal experience and his application of the Gospel as he knew it.

When Zwingli was still quite young, his father, "seeing signs of promise in his little boy," as Myconius states it,[10] "committed him at a very tender age to his brother, a priest, to see if there were the making of a scholar in him." The extent of the impact, which

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8. Oskar Farner, Huldrych Zwingli, Vol. I: Seine Irgend, Schulzeit und Studentenjahre 1484-1506. passim. The standard designation, Farner 1 will be used hereafter. Farner's four-volume biography of Zwingli contains a wealth of source materials for studying the development of Zwingli within the context of fifteenth and sixteenth century Switzerland. Characterized by meticulous, capable scholarship, these four volumes constitute an invaluable introduction to the life of Zwingli for the serious student.

9. "In schoner Weyd alpet er mich." Quoted in Farner 1, p. 99.

10. Myconius, "Zwingli," p. 2.

Bartholomaeus Zwingli, priest at Wesen am Walensee, exercised on young Huldrych as his first teacher is unknown. Farner[11] suggests that the Uncle was, generally speaking, one of the most important influences throughout Zwingli's formal education--primarily because he encouraged the continuation of his studies. Since Bartholomaeus was largely responsible for the termination of Zwingli's education in 1506, this may be true, but it is enough here to indicate that he found Zwingli to be an able student, and sent him in 1494 at the age of ten to Basel to study at St. Theodor's School.

In Basel Zwingli came under the influence of Gregorius Buenzli, "a good man, learned and wonderfully gentle."[12] Zwingli's relationship with Buenzli, who later succeeded Bartholomaeus at Wesen, grew into an intimate friendship that lasted until the latter's death.[13] Zwingli made noteworthy progress in Latin, dialectic, and music. Soon an inestimable service was once more performed for Zwingli. Recognizing his own limitations, Buenzli sent the youth home with a recommendation that his studies be continued.

Zwingli next traveled west to Bern where he studied with Heinrich Woelflin, or Lupulus, "a remarkable learned man, and famous also as a poet, who was the first to teach the classics in Switzerland."[14]

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11. Farner 1, p. 161.

12. Myconius, "Zwingli," p. 2.

13. Only three letters remain from an apparently extensive correspondence. Two are from Buenzli: CR VII: 260-261 (Feb. 3, 1520) and CR VIII: 784-786 (Dec. 1, 1526). Zwingli's letter is CR VII: 649-650 (Dec. 30, 1520).

14. Myconius, "Zwingli," p. 3.

Woelflin had come to Bern from the University of Paris in 1493 at the age of 23. A Renaissance humanist educator, Woelflin introduced a new and significant element into the education of young Huldrych. According to the description of Myconius, Woelflin introduced Zwingli "into the secrets of classical learning [so that] he acquired elegance of diction, and the knowledge and discernment of things."[15] In addition to bringing humanistic methods and subjects to bear in his teaching, Woelflin added at once a cosmopolitan touch, having traveled throughout the Holy Land, and a sense of patriotic feeling with his stories of early Swiss leaders. Zwingli's continued appreciation of the humanist and patriot is shown in the introduction to his 1523 sermon On Divine and Human Righteousness when he refers to Woelflin, with Thomas Wyttenbach, as his "instructor."[16] [CR II: 473: 10-11]. Zwingli's sojourn in Bern was brought swiftly to a close when his uncle and father rescued him from the Dominicans who had attempted to take Huldrych into the monastery on the basis of his singing and musical ability.

In the Fall of 1498 at the age of 14, Zwingli began the winter semester in Vienna. Myconius describes the scope of Zwingli's work in Vienna by suggesting that he "embraced in his studies all that philosophy embraces, turning it to good account, for the increase

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15. Ibid.

16. "Underwyser".

and embellishment of his learning."[17] Approximately the equivalent of the good New England Preparatory School or the German Upper Gymnasium, the time of study in Vienna was at once the continuation of the interrupted studies at Bern and the further preparation for the University. Although little is explicitly known of Zwingli's time in Vienna, there is no reason to conclude as does Rilliet, that "Vienna has left hardly any traces in the work of Zwingli."[18] The benefits which Zwingli would have derived from Vienna were the possibilities of an enlarged personal vision implicitly contained in the opportunity to study at the second oldest university in German language territories,[19] in the friends he made there, notably Joachim Vadian from St. Gall, and in the chance to study with Conrad Celtes, the celebrated humanist and favorite poet of Emperor Maximilian. More than this cannot be said, but it is enough to recognize that at Vienna Zwingli studied and lived for four years in one of the outstanding centers of humanistic learning. This meagre evidence cannot be construed to prove anything, but this period of study added to the sum of Zwingli's training, which contributed to the later Zwinglian Reformation.

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17. Myconius, "Zwingli," p. 3.

18. Jean Rilliet, Zwingli, p. 25.

19. "A Vienne, Zwingli avait le moyen d'acquérir une formation vraiment humaine et universelle en même temps que d'élargir son horizon à l'échelle européenne." J. V. Pollet, O. P., Huldrych Zwingli et la Réforme en Suisse, p. 15.

Zwingli's pre-university preparation apparently satisfactorily accomplished, he entered the University at Basel in 1502 where he received the B.A. in 1504 and the M.A. in 1506. Pollet[20] feels that Zwingli's swapping the provincial University at Basel for the cosmopolitan University of Vienna severely limited his further development. This may be a fair assessment of the situation; it is certainly true that the move to Basel was of enormous importance. On the other hand, G. R. Potter's description of the Basel Zwingli encountered places the context of Zwingli's studies in a more favorable perspective:

> Basle at the beginning of the sixteenth century was a wonderful city. Situated at the critical bend of the greatest river in Europe and accessible therefore to all, with a tradition of freedom and self-government in no whit diminished by its acceptance as the city of a sovereign state into the confederation, Basle was the home of warriors, traders, artisans, and scholars, with a renowned cathedral, churches, and monasteries, and with the printing presses of Amerback and Froben which were later to attract the patronage and the person of Erasmus. ... The atmosphere there was one of German humanism, a little heavily serious, like one of Froschauer's book lists, but healthy, learned, and religious: it suited Zwingli admirably.[21]

The intellectual atmosphere of the city must have been lively, and certainly characterized by freedom, or Erasmus would hardly have settled there. In Basel Zwingli was exposed to the thought of the scholastics, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, and Duns Scotus; but,

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20. Ibid.

21. G. R. Potter, A Short History of Switzerland, pp. 146-147.

once again it was a teacher who exercised a decisive formative influence: Thomas Wyttenbach. Farner credits Wyttenbach with teaching Zwingli to look in the Scriptures for the bases of Christian doctrine, and more specifically that "indulgences and the papal power of the keys are not grounded in the Holy Scripture."[22] It is indeed possible that Wyttenbach was the first important influence in Zwingli's becoming a biblical theologian; for, in addition to his lectures on Lombard, Wyttenbach also lectured on the New Testament, especially Romans. However, it is not the use of Scripture that is of prime importance; rather it is what one finds there. It is here that Wyttenbach becomes important.

Zwingli specifically credits Thomas in two places with having influenced him in the matter of particular doctrines. First, in his Exposition of the 18th Article, published in 1523, Zwingli writes:

> I had been previously instructed as to how indulgences are a fraud and deception in a disputation which Doctor Thomas Wyttenbach of Biel, my Lord and beloved faithful teacher, had held some time earlier in Basel. [CR II: 145: 28-146: 4]

In 1527, Zwingli wrote to Luther concerning Wyttenbach in his famous Friendly Exegesis,[23]

> Therefore, when you were expounding faith and in the battle over the indulgences you incautiously ascribed some value to the [papal] keys we were most violently disturbed, since we had been taught several years prior by Thomas Wyttenbach, both a most learned and

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22. Farner 1, p. 230. This writer assumes the responsibility for English translations that are not otherwise available.

23. Amica exegis, id est: expositio eucharistiae negocii ad Martinum Lutherum. CR V: 548-758.

> godly man, who has now passed on, that Christ alone was the price for the remission of sins. [CR V: 719: 5-719: 2]

It is obvious from these two passages that Zwingli was personally indebted to his teacher at Basel for specific doctrinal influences, but it was the nature of the influence that is significent. Both in the matter of indulgences and the power of the keys Zwingli encountered a change in emphasis concerning the source of salvation. In essence Zwingli credited Thomas with having first taught him that one does not look to the Church but to Christ for salvation. He learned that the efforts to place the means of salvation within the confines of a human institution were a "fraud" and a "deception." Such religion was false religion.

## B. Glarus Years, 1506-1516

The significance of the time at Glarus, 1506-1516, lies not in Zwingli's studies so much as in his active involvement in the affairs of his people. At first glance the period of the first pastorate--secured largely through the influence of Uncle Bartholomaeus in nearby Wesen--appears unimportant for understanding the development of Zwingli's thought. "For the ten years he enjoyed the cure of souls at Glarus, orthodox enough to all outward appearance, reading widely, writing a little, tolerating indulgences without protest, making a pilgrimage to Rome and accepting the titular office of papal acolyte, above all accompanying his parishioners on their most important journeys as mercenary soldiers to Pavia, Novara, and

Marignano."[24] During this period Zwingli's immersion in church activity was most clearly characterized by his involvement in the life of the people. Serving as chaplain to the Glarus mercenaries in the service of Julius II, Zwingli was personally involved in the tragic defeat at Marignano in September, 1515. It is true that these experiences "contributed greatly to the uncompromising opposition to the mercenary system that he thereafter maintained;"[25] in addition, these events add to the understanding of the continuing development of Zwingli's social principles. He learned that there was little of positive value in the demoralizing mercenary service, and he had personally experienced for the first time the destructive nature of disunion among his people. Leonhard von Muralt suggests that "the experience in Glarus and the insight into the injury which the foreign military service inflicts on the body of the people, focused Zwingli's attention on the ethical weakness of man."[26]

Zwingli's long-developed talent for keen observation, his patriotic sense of community and his energetic church activity are seen bringing certain patterns to fruition in the maturing Zwingli. There is an obvious identification with the people and a consequent involvement in the social and political realm as a churchman. He

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24. G. R. Potter, Switzerland, p. 147.

25. Charles Garside, Jr., "Zwingli," The New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 14, p. 1142.

26. Leonard von Muralt, "Zwingli als Sozialpolitiker," Zwingliana, Vol. V, (1931), p. 54.

experiences the destructive impact on his people of disunion, the ethical implications of their search for riches, and the unfortunate results of the manipulation of the Swiss mercenaries by foreign powers. He is not merely a theoretician; for, he further seeks to use what power he has to counteract the inherently destructive nature of the foreign service. Zwingli's opposition to the mercenary service was not wholly popular and it became necessary for him to leave Glarus for Einsiedeln in 1516.

C. The Influence of Erasmus

Zwingli's move to Einsiedeln came approximately at the time of a significant event in the development of the Reformation: the publication of Erasmus' Greek New Testament. The influence of Erasmus on Zwingli is well known. It is the nature of the Erasmian influence in the overall picture of Zwinglian development which needs to be understood. In addition, an investigation of the doctrines and the tools which Erasmus provided Zwingli will not only reveal that the great Dutch Humanist may have been the single most important factor in Zwingli's development, but also that it was not an episode that signaled either a radical departure from Zwingli's prior development or necessitated a radical denial of the nature of the event in later years.

## (1) Zwingli's Evangelical Experience

It is the contention of this thesis that the direction of the German Swiss Reformation in Zurich was significantly shaped by the theology of its chief reformer, Huldrych Zwingli. If one can ascertain a specific interval within which Zwingli's evangelical discovery occurred, and the particular concerns that swayed him during the same period, the means for grasping the essential nature of Zwingli's personal faith should then become available. In the mind of Zwingli this experience came during the time of the Erasmian influence.

Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich and early historian of the Reformation, indicated that by 1516 Zwingli was "preaching at Einsiedeln with all diligence, and teaching in particular that Christ is the only mediator."[27] There can be little doubt that Bullinger here is merely echoing Huldrych's own words concerning the significance of 1516 in his experience of the Gospel. For as Farner points out, "no other event of his life did he later fix chronologically so often and date so definitely as this one."[28]

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27. J. J. Hottinger and H. H. Voegel (ed.), Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte, Vol. I, p. 8. (Hereafter: Bullinger I). Bullinger's history is the major source other than Zwingli for studying the Zurich Reformation.

28. Oskar Farner, Huldrych Zwingli. Seine Entwicklung zum Reformator 1506-1520, p. 128. I am indebted to Farner's concise listing of the numerous places where Zwingli cites 1516 as the year of his evangelical discovery. See pp. 128-129, 456.

The year 1516 is consistently chosen by Zwingli as the year in which he first began to preach the Gospel. In a letter to Berchtold Haller, dated December 29, 1521, Zwingli wrote of the "work of the evangelical office which we began five years ago."[29] [CR VII: 485: 3-4] In August 1522, Zwingli wrote in the Archeteles, "for about six years I have labored to the best of my ability with the talent entrusted to my keeping."[30] To these statements may be added another brief testimony from the remarkable Exposition of the 18th Article, where Zwingli defends the time of his evangelical discovery by saying, "I began to preach the Gospel of Christ in the year 1516."[31] [CR II: 145: 1-2] Zwingli's words are transparently clear. In his own mind 1516 served as the terminus a quo for his evangelical labors.[32]

This view, however, is not usually accepted without qualification. Pollet warns that Zwingli, his biographers and the chroniclers tended to see the earlier Zwingli too much in the light of the later

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29. "euangelici muneris opus, quod annis abhinc quinque sumus orsi."

30. H. Zwingli, "Defence Called Archeteles," S. M. Jackson (ed.), The Latin Works ... of Huldreich Zwingli. Vol. I, p. 198. (Hereafter: Jackson I).

31. "angehebt [i.e., angefangen] das euangelion Christi ze predgen im jar 1516."

32. Zwingli also specifically chose 1516 in his "Der ander Sendbrief an die Christen zu Esslingen" of October 1526 [CR V: 424: 9-11] and in the Amica exegesis ... ad Martinum Lutherum of February 1527. CR V: 712: 22-714: 2.

Zwingli.[33] The very likelihood of this sort of interpretation causes one to proceed very cautiously in reading the available sources. Furthermore, the confusion which rules the Zwingli literature has heretofore worked against the achievement of a simple understanding of Zwingli's personal discovery of the Gospel--especially one in accord with his own statements. Koehler's interpretation is widely accepted and is generally characteristic of the interpretations of this period in Zwingli's life.[34] He insists the motivating power and strength of the inner life is missing in the Erasmian Zwingli. However ethical the program of Zwingli at Glarus and Einsiedeln it was essentially too intellectually conceived. "Its motivating force was not rooted in a new religious creation of the whole man, but in reflection which, even though it is pious reflection, remains reflection nonetheless."[35] Even Zwingli's concern for church abuses is primarily an academic, not a life problem. Zwingli's reacting to the indulgence problem does not reveal the characteristically Reformation problem in Zwingli as it does in Luther.[36] The educational

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33. "Là où il est possible de vérifier leurs assertions, on s'aperçoit que, manquant de sens critique, ces auteurs ont souvent interprété le passé à la lumière des développements ultérieurs et ont ainsi mis au compte du Zwingli de Glaris ou d'Eindiedeln des intentions qui ne se sont révélées que plus tard." J. V. Pollet, Zwingli, p. 10.

34. W. Koehler, "Zwingli als Theologe," cols. 25ff.

35. Ibid., col. 25.

36. "Das ist nicht das staunende Aufhorchen einer ganzen Welt gewesen wie beim Anschlag der 95 Thesen in Wittenberg durch Luther." Ibid., col. 29.

ideals of Erasmus were not strong enough to overthrow sin's power. Zwingli was missing a viable conception of sin and grace, growing out of his own experience of the Gospel. Consequently, the evangelical discovery of Zwingli could only have come later, probably after he had been in Zurich for several months.[37]

It is the implicit assumption of such interpretations that a radical conversion of some type--or at least a qualitatively different experience--was necessary to the transition of Zwingli from Erasmian reform to Protestant Reformation. It is possible, however, to obtain a workable understanding of Zwingli's evangelical experience that neither requires a forced interpretation of the sources nor does injustice to Zwingli's own words. To do so one must establish criteria by which to judge the validity of Zwingli's assertions. First, one should judge whether or not Zwingli's evangelical theology is best viewed in terms of gradual process or radical change. Second, if there is a developing Zwinglian theology growing out of Huldrych's personal faith, then it must be consistent with the Erasmian experience. If there is no radical change in direction in Zwingli's thought, and if the experience of 1516 is of the same essential nature as those which finally determined the form of the Protestant Reformation in Zurich--especially during 1523-1524--then it will add strength to Zwingli's reference to 1516. This assertion should not be construed as absolute proof that Zwingli was

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37. Ibid., col. 31.

justifiable in pointing to 1516. It must be recognized that the paucity of Zwingli materials from the earlier period largely make it impossible to establish the indubitable validity of Zwingli's dating. Whatever proof can be obtained will only become evident in retrospect as one views Zwingli's full development into evangelical Reformer, and discerns whether it is more meaningful to speak of a radical change or a slower process consistent with the nature of Erasmian religion. If it is the former, then one will have to discern clear evidence that substantiates a radical shift and allows one to delineate the development from that point of change. This exercise will not prove that Zwingli did not have his evangelical experience until 1516. It will perhaps show, however, why the experiences of 1516 and the progress of the Reformation in 1523-1524 are related in the mind of Zwingli. Furthermore, should there appear to be such a relationship, the understanding of one should aid in the interpretation of the other.

### (2) Erasmian Piety

In May 1516 Zwingli wrote an admiring letter to Erasmus praising him as the deliverer of sacred letters from barbarism and sophistry.[38] Having visited the great humanist the previous year in Basel, Zwingli was certainly ready for the influence which Erasmus exercised on his

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38. "sanctae litterae a barbarie sophismatisque per eum vindicatae." CR VII: 36: 17-18. Erasmus' answer is found in CR VII: 37-38.

disciples. Zwingli's weariness with the mercenary service no doubt was an initial rallying point between the influential Dutch pacifist and the younger Swiss patriot. Zwingli's earlier encounters with humanist educators were also a means of preparation for Erasmus. But, whatever the causes, it is certainly true that "during the years in Glarus ... indeed, even during the time in Einsiedeln, the spiritual home of Zwingli is sought in Basel."[39] Zwingli certainly read widely in the works of Erasmus and owned several copies of the humanist's writings, many of which he copiously marked.[40] A clue to the nature of the Erasmain influence is given by Zwingli himself in the Auslegung und Gruende der Schlussreden of 1523:

> I shall not conceal from you, dearly beloved brethern, the manner in which I arrived at this opinion; the utterly sure conviction that we have no need of any mediator apart from Christ. Some eight or nine years ago, more or less, I read a poem of that most learned man, Erasmus of Rotterdam, in which Christ pleads with men as to the reason why men are so stupid as not to seek all things in him, seeing that he alone is the fountain of every good, the preserver and benefactor, in sum, the comfort and treasury of the soul. The poem is learned and most elegant. When I read it I immediately began to ponder: Things are just as I read here. Why then do we run after help from the creature?[41] [CR II: 217: 5-14]

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39. Walther Koehler, "Zwingli und Basel," Zwingliana, Vol. V, (1929), p. 4.

40. For the authoritative listing of the works which Zwingli owned and used, see Walther Koehler, Huldrych Zwinglis Bibliothek, pp. *1-*51. Erasmus' works are listed on pp. *14-*16. In addition to listing the works Koehler makes useful comments concerning Zwingli's handwritten marginal notes.

41. Huldrych Zwingli, "Enthusiasm for Erasmus," F. L. Battles (trans.), The Hartford Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 4, (1965), pp. 64-66.

In the poem of which Zwingli writes, Jesus passionately deplores the man who neglects the one true source of divine good, preferring instead the lesser advantages of mere human creations:

> Since to me all things are good, which either leafy earth
> Or huge Olympus contains,
> Tell me, O mortals, what madness has seized you? How is it
> You prefer to chase everywhere after these things
> Rather than to make earnest request at the unique fountain,
> Nay--the one bounteous and close at hand?
> Why do you delight in pursuing the false Shadows of good things,
> With fearful and miserable agitation?
> Why is it that few seek after me, who am the bestower
> And author of felicity?
> Comeliness captivates many; yet nothing is ever more comely than I:
> However, no one ardently yearns after this comeliness of mine.
> Many take up ancestral images and family trees,
> Yet what is more illustrious than I?
> I who am God Himself, having proceeded from God the Father
> . . . . . .
> Why does ungrateful man alone refuse to know me,
> His creator and vindicator?
> I am to you the one who is the highest of all goods;
> What is it that you seek outside me?[42]

Here, in essence, is the Erasmian impact. Men have lost sight of the highest good by unsuccessfully focusing on what is less than God, i.e., their own creations. This basic theme which pervades the theology of Erasmus is the cornerstone of Zwingli's false-true principle; for, the theological explication of sole mediatorship develops in terms of Zwingli's application of the false-true principle in the context of his attack on church abuses. Thus, man's focusing on his own means, works, and religious exercises has thrown up obstacles that prevent

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42. Desiderius Erasmus, "Expostulation of Jesus with a Man Perishing Through His Very Own Fault," F. L. Battles (trans.), The Hartford Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 4, (1965), pp. 64-66. Opera Omnia, Joannes Clericus (ed.), Vol. V, cols. 1319e-1320c.

his having a true relationship with God. Religion which looks to man instead of to Christ is false religion. It is a discovery of the sole mediatorship of Christ in contrast to those who would make lesser figures such as the saints mediators. "I am to you the one who is the highest of all goods; What is it that you seek outside me?"

Further explication of Erasmian notions concerning true and false expressions of the Christian life is available in another treatise used by Zwingli, the Enchiridion or Handbook of the Christian Soldier.[43] In this work Erasmus "earnestly calls Christians away from the sacerdotal, ritualistic, institutional, and dogmatic religion to the practice of the fundamentals of Christian faith."[44] In summary fashion Erasmus offers two weapons of Christian warfare; "these two weapons are prayer and knowledge."[45] Erasmus uses the weapon of knowledge to reveal the weakness of man and the strength of God. Knowledge brings recognition of God's work, revealing the nature of true worship as that which centers on God, not on the creations of man. Such is the function of prayer. The Christian is to look "toward Christ alone, your sole and highest good, so that you may love nothing, be in awe of nothing, seek after nothing, other than

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43. See Desiderius Erasmus, "The Enchiridion," F. L. Battles (trans), Advocates of Reform, pp.295-379. Opera Omnia, Joannes Clericus (ed.), Vol. V, cols. 1a-66c.

44. Matthew Spinka, "Desiderius Erasmus, A Humanistic Reformer," Advocates of Reform, p. 286.

45. Erasmus, "The Enchiridion," p. 302. Clericus, V, col. 5e.

Christ himself, or for Christ's sake."[46] A subsidiary tenet offered by Erasmus is further suggestive of the nature of true religion; for, "in this one respect you maintain perfect piety, if you try always to press on from visible things, which are for the most part either imperfect or intermediate, to things invisible, in accordance with the higher part of man."[47] True worship of God is not dependent on the appeal to the senses, but upon immediate relation to God as spirit. It is the higher part of man, his soul or spirit, that is to be turned toward God. In fact, insists Erasmus, human ceremonies and corporeal religion hinder man's approach to God. Erasmus' positing two parts in man, the higher and lower or soul and body, lays the foundation for contrasting false and true religion. Properly understood, the lower part of man stands in opposition to true religion by concentrating on non-spiritual "false shadows." True religion, which looks beyond human creations to Christ, is spiritual religion.

In his Ratio ... ad Veram Theologiam Erasmus compares those who stand on ceremonies to Judaizers.[48] Godliness is always universal and has no need of particular place, and who does not know that

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46. Ibid., p. 328. Clericus, V, col. 25b.

47. Ibid., p. 332. Clericus, V, col. 27d.

48. Desiderius Erasmus, "Ratio seu methodus compendio Perveniendi ad Veram Theologiam," Opera Omnia, Joannes Clericus (ed.), Vol. V, cols. 73-138.

"simulated piety is never to be given first place?"[49] He is painfully aware that the masses above all are led astray by those things which they see, and he muses about many people whose godliness is injured by the external appearance of "false piety."[50] He insists that true piety is situated in deeds not words, in feeling not external appearances, and in obedience not ceremonies.[51] It is this approach, characterized by setting manifestations of false and true godliness over against each other, that is the crux of the Erasmian influence on Zwingli's intellectual development and formulation of his understanding of the Gospel.

Erasmus' approach to true piety was conceived in terms of a return to the pristine practices of the early church, and as such, it was his goal to return to the sources of Christian antiquity. In his return to the early fathers, but above all in his return to the Scriptures as the primary source, Erasmus had a decisive and abiding effect on Zwingli. "Erasmus saw in the sources an opportunity to rid contemporary Christianity and society of the excesses that he so despised: superstition and ignorance, and Scholastic theology."[52] Zwingli's reforming work included a characteristic return to Scripture

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49. Ibid., col. 112c: "simulata sanctimonia nihil esse capitalius?"

50. Ibid.: "falso pietatis".

51. Ibid., col. 113e. : "in factis, non verbis: in affectu, non cultu: in obedientia, non cerimoniis sitam esse veram pietatem."

52. John William Aldridge, The Hermeneutic of Erasmus, p. 13.

as a norm for understanding true piety as well as providing the means for purifying the church of its abuses. The publication of Erasmus' Greek New Testament made readily available to Zwingli the impetus and means for studying Scripture. The significance of the study of the Scriptures was not that now the New Testament was being used for the first time; rather, the significance lay in the application of the New Testament to the church and society in which Erasmus--and therefore Zwingli--studied and lived. Zwingli's study of the New Testament "set him thinking about the conditions of the early church and contrasting these conditions with what he saw and knew of the religious society around him."[53] With the Scriptures as his standard for determining perfect piety Zwingli consequently could maintain an authoritative perspective from which he could at once criticize manifestations of false religion and work toward the establishment of true religion.

It should be pointed out that the writings of Erasmus reveal not only theoretical reflection and the concern for scholarship, but also an intense dedication to the values inherent in education itself. In the light of Erasmus' emphasis upon the necessity of knowledge as a weapon of the Christian and his own apparent dedication to scholarship, it may be somewhat repetitive to mention education in general; nevertheless, since faith in the power of education is characteristic of the manner in which Zwingli carried out his reforming work, it

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53. G. R. Potter, Switzerland, p. 148.

should be noted that education is likewise a concern of Erasmus. Two of the treatises considered here, the Enchiridion and the Ratio ... ad Veram Theologiam, are both essentially educational in intent. If knowledge is a necessary weapon, then it obviously follows that the maintenance of knowledge through education is likewise essential. Throughout his writings Erasmus is noticeably optimistic that perfect piety can be served if the truth is known. On the one hand knowledge discerns the inadequacies of mere ceremonial or corporeal religion; on the other, it reveals the nature of true godliness. Zwingli effectively mobilized this two-fold character of knowledge in his reforming work in that he always enlisted the aid of the educational process prior to instituting ecclesiastical innovations.[54]

D. Summary: The Strains of Influence

In summary, it is possible to detect several important strains of influence in Zwingli's development which are helpful for understanding the nature of the reformer's theology and work in Zurich.

From the first Zwingli inherited a social sense characterized by patriotic feeling. His childhood enabled him to appreciate

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54. It should be noted, however, that Zwingli considerably broadened the base of his educational approach. Whereas Erasmus was normally concerned with an educational elite, Zwingli optimistically took his case to all the people. This is to say that Zwingli employed a direct action in his reforming efforts that was missing in Erasmus. Basically it is this activism that separates Zwingli from Erasmus and not the dynamic of an evangelical experience which is present in Zwingli but missing in Erasmus.

political processes as an honorable means for the involvement of men. A characteristic of Zwingli's later reforming activity was his willingness to work within the traditional political arena, i.e., the Zurich magistracy. The endemic quality of such political action has its roots in Zwingli's early youth. There is evidence that many of his teachers were patriots and incorporated stories of Swiss heroes into their teaching. Zwingli's creative involvement in the affairs of his people at Glarus reflects both the fruits of a developed social feeling and the continued intensifying of that sense. At Glarus he became personally aware of man's ethical situation as well as of the destructive powers of disunity and the dangers of foreign influences upon the Swiss. It is also significant that this social involvement in Glarus was a direct expression of his church activity. The lessons of his youth he could apply in earnest, for his experiences had led him to believe that the affairs of God were immediately related to the socio-political sphere.

Zwingli's consistently humanistic education was a factor of importance in leading him back to a study of the sources of original Christianity--and consequently, to a particular understanding of primitive Christianity as over against the contemporary expressions of religion as he knew them. Zwingli himself described his evangelical experience as coming in 1516, the time of strongest Erasmian influence. It is a contention of this thesis that whatever the interpretation of Zwingli's evangelical discovery may be, it is helpful to view it essentially as a process. Zwingli's personal faith issues in a

developing theology that is forged in the arena of practical reform. The viable comprehension of Zwingli's faith portrays his thought as the fruition of prior development. Consequently, the way in which Zwingli came to a gospel understanding appears in terms of deepening piety rather than radical conversion.

The appropriation of 1516 as a pivotal date must also be done with the realization that the experiences of that time are themselves a solidification of earlier influences. The positive insistence upon the return to the sources of antiquity is to be expected in the light of Zwingli's humanistic education. Nor is the affectionate regard for simple or unencumbered piety any more surprising. The new element revealed in the Erasmian experience is the recognition of the sole mediatorship of Christ. Zwingli's acceptance of the Erasmian understanding of true faith and piety is based on the movement from corporeal to spiritual Christianity. The availability of Erasmus' Greek New Testament, which was read through the eyes of one searching for spiritual religion, led Zwingli to a particular understanding of primitive Christianity as over against the contemporary expressions of religion as he knew them. This constant interaction between Zwingli's interpretation of true religion and his reflections on the abuses of corporeal and sensible religion is the basis of Zwingli's false-true reforming principle. True piety was understood to issue in an essentially simple form of religious expression characterized by a concentration upon the invisible rather than the visible. The further treatment of the development of Zwingli's

thought in the remaining chapters will show that if one understands Erasmus' influence on Zwingli in terms of this general quest for true religion, it will not be necessary to postulate a radical change at some indeterminate date later in his career. The temptation to distinguish between the humanist theologian of 1516 and the biblical theologian of 1523-1524 will be overcome by realizing that Zwingli was a biblical theologian precisely because he was a humanistic or Erasmian theologian. While not ruling out changes in Zwingli's later thought as his theology developed in the encounter with specific problems,[55] his theology will be seen to have developed consistently with his early position. Such an interpretation will account for the sense of continuity in Zwingli's own mind between his reforming work before and after his move to Zurich.

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55. For example, Zwingli did not extensively work out his understanding of the relationship of guilt and original sin until his later controversies with the Taeufer. See Rudolf Pfister, Das Problem der Erbsuende bei Zwingli, pp. 42-48. Of course, Zwingli was not unique in this regard. Among the other reformers one only needs to think of the influence of Servetus on Calvin or of Zwingli himself on Luther. This does not mean, for example, that Calvin was not a Trinitarian until he encountered Servetus, but that he was forced to expand his trinitarian doctrine in response to Servetus. See Calvin, Institutes. I. xiii. 22.

## CHAPTER II

## PRELUDE TO REFORMATION, 1519-1522

Zwingli began his ministry as People's Priest in Zurich at the Grossmuenster, the cathedral church, January 1, 1519. His personal experience of the Gospel is applied to the Zurich scene in terms of the false-true principle, which at the same time influenced the further development of Zwingli's theology. For this reason, an understanding of the expressions of religion in Switzerland and Zurich on the eve of the Reformation will likely provide indications of the eventual shape of the religious reform under Huldrych's leadership. A study of Zwingli's first few years in Zurich, characterized by continous church activity and deepening personal piety, will consequently show that Zwingli's search for true religion inevitably led him to the threshold of reform by 1522. In many events of that year and in Zwingli's writings, the first seeds of revolt came to widespread and successful fruition. However, these instances of unrest were but a prelude to the Reformation in that the success and final victory of the reformed church was not assured. The opening skirmishes came with the preliminary revolt of the sausage-eaters during Lent. Following the experiences of Spring Zwingli published several significant writings, which reveal the chief lineaments of the developing Reformation. The year 1522,

characterized by incipient reform becoming explicit revolt, ended with the prospects for the first formal Swiss confrontation of the Zwinglians and the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

## A. Zurich on the Eve of the Reformation

An understanding of the religious conditions in Switzerland, especially with regard to the nature of popular piety in Zurich during the early years of the sixteenth century, will set the stage for Zwingli's reforming work. In fact, if one grasps the essential character of the religious practices and observances in effect when Zwingli came to the Grossmuenster, one can the more readily understand Zwingli's reformation as a natural result of his search for true religion.

Zwingli's tenure at Einsiedeln gave him the opportunity to observe firsthand a consummate instance of popular religion. For Einsiedeln was in the day of Zwingli, as today, a favorite place of pilgrimage.[1] Zwingli was employed by the Benedictines as Chaplain

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1. The making of pilgrimages to favorite shrines was an outstanding feature of medieval piety. Such pilgrimages, usually associated with the veneration of relics, were made with the promise of indulgences for the pilgrims. Often a profitable enterprise developed in the showing of relics as well as the sale of indulgences. It was such traffic, especially in the persons of Albert of Mainz and Tetzel, that occasioned the rise of Luther. See E. G. Schwiebert, Luther and His Times, pp. 303-330, for a historical description of abuses associated with indulgences and the veneration of relics as well as Luther's response to the problem. Erasmus severely attacked pilgrimages in his Colloquies. See the recent translations by Craig Thompson, The Colloquies of Erasmus, especially "Rash Vows," pp. 4-7, and "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake," pp. 285-312. See Clericus, I, cols. 639a-640c, 774c-787d.

to the pilgrims who came from throughout Switzerland and Southern Germany to visit the shrine of the Black Virgin, seeking indulgences which would grant remission of temporal punishment for their sins.[2] It is important to realize that Zwingli did not find it necessary to oppose the pilgrimages while he was at Einsiedeln. He did, however, seize the opportunity to seek the expulsion of the indulgence seller Samson from the territory of Schwyz. Beatus Rhenanus wrote a letter to Zwingli in December, 1518, praising him for his opposition to Samson and for preaching "the most pure philosophy of Christ to the people from out of the sources themselves." [CR VII: 115: 10-11][3] At Einsiedeln Zwingli was certainly a witness to the superstition which pervaded the worship of the common people as they venerated the saints and the relics. This is not to say that he was already opposing the system that created and maintained the superstitious practices, but it does indicate the nature of popular religion in Zwingli's time.

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2. For a discussion of the history and significance of Einsiedeln, see Farner 2, pp. 213-233. An older but still useful treatment in English is S. M. Jackson, Huldreich Zwingli, pp. 98-114.

3. Note the typically humanistic phraseology, "purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis fontibus." Rhenanus also took the opportunity to lament doctrinal abuses prevalent in the Roman hierarchy's defenders: "Deblatterant illi nugas in eo loco stantes, ubi, quicquid dicitur, populus verissimum esse putat, de pontificia potestate, de condonationibus, de purgatorio, de fictis divorum miraculis, de restitutione, de contractibus, de votis, de penis inferorum, de antichristo." CR VII: 115: 14-17.

It is clear that one could not accuse the common people of being irreligious. If anything, they were too religious. In fact there were signs that devotional practices were increasing in intensity. In his analysis of the religious situation in Switzerland during the early sixteenth century, Oskar Farner remarks that "there can be no question but that before Zwingli appeared on the scene a nearly uncanny ecclesiastical activity must have reigned in Zurich."[4] Not a small number of the churches which still stand today in the Canton of Zurich were built or remodeled within a few years before and after 1500. It is not the activity itself, but its nature that is important. During the First Disputation Zwingli commented on what he saw the essence of the popular religion to be.

> You know that now in our time, as also many years heretofore, the pure, clear and bright light, the word of God, has been so dimmed and confused and paled with human ambitions and teachings that the majority who by word of mouth call themselves Christians know nothing less than the divine will. But by their own invented service of God, holiness, external spiritual exhibition, founded upon human customs and laws, they have gone astray, and have thus been persuaded by those whom people consider learned and leaders of others to the extent that the simple think that such invented external worship is spiritual, and that the worship of God, which they have put upon themselves, necessarily conduces to happiness, although all our true happiness, consolation and good consists, not in our merits, nor in such external works. [CR I: 486: 26-487: 12][5]

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4. Oskar Farner, Huldrych Zwingli. Seine Verkuendigung und ihre ersten Fruechte 1520-1525, p. 19. (Hereafter: Farner 3).

5. S. M. Jackson (ed.), "The Acts of the First Zurich Disputation, January, 1523," Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli, pp. 47-48. Hereafter this volume will be designated Selections.

In this speech Zwingli contrasts "spiritual" worship with an "external" worship "founded upon human customs and laws." He suggests that those people who have gone astray have been seduced into believing "that such invented external worship is spiritual." Although this is not a description of popular piety but a judgment by Zwingli concerning current worship practices, Zwingli's contrasting spiritual worship chiefly with invented external exhibition gives a clue to the characteristic aspect of popular piety in Zurich.

The outstanding feature of worship practice in Zurich when Zwingli came to the Grossmuenster was its concentration on sensible or corporeal means. In April, 1525, Zwingli suggested in his Answer to Valentin Compar that not a hundredth part of the saint's images which he had encountered in Zurich had even existed during his childhood.[6] Thus he assumed his position in Zurich in the midst of an intense religious activity characterized by dedication to the sensible and external aspects of worship.

The popular piety of Zwingli's Zurich was dependent upon sense experience. Charles Garside, Jr., in his recent study of Zwingli and the Arts, indicates the lengths to which such dedication to "corporeal things" and "corporeal ceremonies" had progressed by Zwingli's time.

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6. "Es mag ein zimmlich alter man verdencken, das nit der hundertest teil der goetzen in den templen gewesen ist, der zuo unseren zyten ist." CR IV: 123: 10-12.

> Popular piety had naturally come to be predominantly sensuous. The people were accustomed to expressing their religious ideas and emotions in sensuously perceptible forms--above all, in visible forms. To secure the intercession of the saints it was necessary for them to see, if possible even to touch, their relics. Merely to pray to Mary and the saints was insufficient; their devotions and prayers had to be performed before paintings and statues. The reality of their religious experience was to be measured almost entirely in terms of its immediate palpability.[7]

The experience of the Christian faith and worship was literally inseparable from the visual and sensible aspects of that worship. The interiors of the churches themselves were elaborately illustrative of such popular piety. Garside concludes that "the faithful, in short, had fallen completely captive to the senses."[8] This incessant emphasis upon sensible and corporeal religion must have seemed incredible to Zwingli. There could be no doubt but that the people who were everywhere ensconced in manifestations of false religion--pilgrimages, relic veneration, purchases of indulgences, sensible stimuli for worship, superstitions--were in desperate need of true religion.

### B. The Developing Reformer:

#### (1) Zwingli the Preacher

The actual significance of Zwingli's initial preaching efforts in Zurich is somewhat in question. If one were pre-disposed to believe

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7. Charles Garside, Jr., Zwingli and the Arts, p. 92.

8. Ibid.

latter day Zurich sentiment, one would happily read and accept the declaration over the door to the Grossmuenster that the Gospel was first preached there January 1, 1519. G. R. Potter comments on the presence of this inscription by remarking that it is "a rare example of an exact and accurate date for the beginning of a long process."[9] Once again it is helpful to realize the futility of pinning an exact date on what was essentially a long process. Koehler contends that Zwingli's preaching at this time, although critical of the manifestations of religion as he witnessed them, was merely a continuation of the Erasmain reform and was therefore not yet the preaching of a Protestant Reformer.[10] Since Zwingli had not yet given up his papal pension nor preached against the Roman Catholic Church it would not be true to characterize Zwingli's first sermons in Zurich as actually part of the German Swiss Reformation. On the other hand, there are those who would characterize Zwingli's preaching as essentially Reformation preaching in form and content. Gordon Rupp, for example, insists that the Zurich Reformation began when Zwingli announced he would preach straight through the Gospel of Matthew.[11] In short, depending upon one's fundamental position for viewing the nature of the Zurich Reformation, Zwingli's early preaching will appear in different perspectives. Nonetheless, a further examination of

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9. G. R. Potter, Switzerland, p. 141.

10. W. Koehler, "Zwingli als Theologe," col. 31.

11. Gordon Rupp, "The Reformation in Zuerich," p. 99.

Zwingli's preaching will shed some light on the nature of the reformer's developing theology.

Whatever the perspective from which one views the preaching of Zwingli in 1519, it must become apparent that the question of reform is involved, whether it be Erasmian or Lutheran, Protestant or Catholic.[12] Zwingli himself partly recognized this in a letter to Myconius written December 2, 1518. He first informed Myconius that he had decided to preach through the whole Gospel of Matthew, a type of pulpit practice, he noted, unheard of among the Germans.[13] Zwingli's decision was not unanimously approved in Zurich. Myconius' description of Zwingli's informing the Zurichers indicates the manner in which it was received:

> In the very first meeting with the canons he declared in person what and how he proposed to teach the people, to wit, the history of Christ the Savicur as Matthew the Evangelist describes him, nor should his honour be longer obscured, whose excellence had now for a long time been hidden to the detriment of the Divine glory and of souls. The same however, he would expound not according to human reason indeed, seeing that he was sworn to no interpreter, but according to the purpose of the Spirit, which through diligent collating of the Scriptures, and through fervent prayers from the heart, he doubted not that he should be given to understand. On hearing this some mourned, and some rejoiced, just as there had been difference of opinion previously among his electors.[14]

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12. Sounding a rare note of consensus, Pollet remarks that "l'arrivée de Zwingli à Zurich (1er janvier 1519) s'accomplit sous le signe de la réforme. Sur ce point il ne saurait y avoir de doute." J. V. Pollet, Zwingli, p. 24.

13. "Convenerat apud me, quod praedicarem evangelistam Mattheum ex integro, inauditum Germanis hominibus opus." CR VII: 106: 3-4.

14. Myconius, "Zwingli," pp. 8-9.

Zwingli's announcement could not but startle his colleagues; for he had indeed determined to make a striking innovation. No longer would he preach merely from the assigned texts for the day, the Pericopes, interpreting only in the light of man made commentaries. Relying upon the inspiration of the Spirit of God he would return to the true source, the Scriptures, and would lay aside the standard commentaries themselves. Whereas formerly the preaching in Zurich followed a predictable and often trod path of interpretation based on the writings of the Scholastics, Zwingli was proposing a new and more revolutionary method of preaching. The canons were justifiably worried, for they could not tell where this new approach would lead them.

Actually Huldrych denied that his method of preaching was an innovation without precedent. When Canon Conrad Hofmann complained that Zwingli had established an unprecedented approach to preaching by omitting the Pericopes, Zwingli claimed merely to be harkening back to the precedent set centuries before by the Homiliae Chrysostomi and the Tractatus Augustini in Joannem.[15]

What, then, is the significance of Zwingli's early preaching in Zurich? Should one consider it as essentially evangelical by 1519? In assigning the year 1519 as the year for the beginning of the Gospel, the Winterthur Chronicler, Laurencius Bosshart, simply remarks that "Master Ulrich Zwingli, preacher at Zurich, preached the Gospel

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15. Bullinger I, p. 12.

at this time."[16] Bullinger echoes this sentiment in his description of Zwingli's first sermon at Zurich asserting that Zwingli preached "by and with divine truth, and not with human trifles."[17] It is clear that Zwingli's chroniclers considered his preaching by 1519 to have been essentially reformed preaching. Unfortunately, these references in retrospect are not exact enough to prove that such was actually the case. However, if one considers Zwingli's own understanding of his preaching and the content of his sermons, a clearer picture emerges as to the nature of Huldrych's early pulpit activity in Zurich.

It is helpful to realize that Zwingli recognized no essential difference between his preaching in 1519 and that of a later period. In the Archeteles of 1522 Zwingli had occasion to defend the preaching which he had done at Zurich:

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16. Kaspar Hauser (ed.), Die Chronik des Laurencius Bosshart von Winterthur 1185-1532, p. 89. Bosshart also records the activity of Luther and Erasmus in the same section:

"Das evangelium fieng an.

"In denen zyten prediget Martinus Luther ze Wittenberg wider dess bapsts aplas ze Rom, wie es ein betrug ware und bewaret das mit gottlicher biblischer geschrifft.

"Erasmus von Rhoterodam hat auch ein buchlin lassen usgon, darus man gar vil anfieng mercken.

"Meister Ulrich Zwingli, predicant ze Zurich, hat das evangelium geprediget in diser zyt.

"Gott hat unns sin wort wellen offenbaren durch das mittel der griechischer und hebraischer sprachen; dann das ist keim menschen zu ze legen, gett hat es gwaltigklich gewurckt," pp. 88-89.

17. "that er Zuerych sin erste predig, und verkundt das er Morndess amm Sontag anheben woellte usslegen das heilig Evangelium Matthei, durch und mitt goettlicher warheit, und nitt mitt manschen thandtt." Bullinger I, p. 12.

> I have never planted any other plant than that which Christ planted at the direction of his Father, which cannot be rooted up. For three years ago [i.e., 1519] now (to give you an account of the preaching I have done at Zurich), I preached the entire Gospel according to Matthew. [CR I: 284: 37-285: 2][18]

He insists upon the continuity of his preaching over the years in Zurich. After finishing Matthew he preached from the Acts of the Apostles so "that the Church of Zurich might see in what way and with what sponsors the Gospel was carried forth and spread abroad." [CR I: 285: 4-6][19] Following this he preached from I Timothy, and then he skipped to Galatians "inasmuch as certain smatterers showed perverted opinions of the faith." [CR I: 285: 8-9][20] Then came II Timothy, I, II Peter and Hebrews. Zwingli felt that he had preached for three years to his people "that Christ, having been made a sacrifice once for all, has accomplished their salvation forever." [CR I: 285: 24-25][21] It is evident that Zwingli himself considered his reforming work in Zurich as beginning when he first came from Einsiedeln.

If this is true, in what way did Zwingli's co-extensive false-true and socio-political principles operate in his preaching? Rilliet succintly summarizes the significance of Zwingli's preaching

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18. Jackson.I, p. 238.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p. 239. Farner 3, pp. 42-43, contains a likely chronological listing of Zwingli's sermons according to the books of the Bible.

by remarking with regard to his preaching through Matthew that "Scripture now dominates tradition."[22] Zwingli has turned from what he thought to be mere human invention and creation to the primary source of true religion. "I have not," he writes in a significant passage "... used any false nostrums or tricks or exhortations, but in simple words and terms native to the Swiss I have drawn them to the recognition of their trouble, having learned this from Christ himself, who began his own preaching with it." [CR I: 285: 29-286: 1][23] The true standard of his preaching was Christ. It is this norm to which he appealed, in contrast to the "false nostrums or tricks or exhortations" of traditional interpretation. With this true source Zwingli draws his listeners "to the recognition of their trouble," i.e., to the realization of their actual status before God. Zwingli claimed to have patterned his preaching along the lines of Christ's preaching, who began his ministry with a call to repentence.[24] Nor is Huldrych's commitment to his countrymen any less evident, for he preaches to them "in simple words and terms native to the Swiss." He recognized that his preaching must be at once biblical and personally relevant to the lives of his listeners if it is to be

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22. Rilliet, Zwingli, p. 57.

23. Jackson I, p. 239.

24. It is worth pointing out that Zwingli began the Short Christian Instruction by commending as a starting place in one's preaching the same message of repentance that Christ preached at the beginning of his ministry. See CR II: 630: 21-25.

truly effective. His goal is to "call my flock absolutely away, as far as I can, from hope in any created being to the one true God and Jesus His only begotten Son, our Lord, he that trusteth in whom shall never die." [CR I: 286: 11-14][25] It is to be remembered that it was this emphasis that Zwingli gained from Erasmus.[26]

There is a remarkable paucity of actual sermonic materials preserved from Zwingli's early years in Zurich. Farner points out that not only are there merely a few sermons of Zwingli left to posterity, but that even these sermons do not exist in the form that they were originally preached.[27] In addition, none of the sermons came from the earliest period of Zwingli's Zurich years.[28] In the light of this lamentable gap it is interesting to note the description of Zwingli's early sermons which Heinrich Bullinger included in his history of the Reformation:

> Soon all kinds of men, especially the common people, were gathering to hear these evangelical sermons of Zwingli. In these sermons he praised God the Father and taught that all men should only trust in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, the unique Savior of all. He attacked disbelief, superstition and hypocritical talk. He vigorously promoted repentance or reformation of life as well as Christian love and trust.[29]

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25. Jackson I, p. 239. Underlining added.

26. See above, pp. 18-21.

27. "Beides klingt befremdend und ist schwer verstaendlich: erstens dass von allen, vermutlich weit ueber tausend in Zuerich gehaltenen Zwinglipredigten sich nur acht fuer die Nachwelt erhalten haben, und zweitens, dass auch diese acht nicht mehr im urspruenglichen Wortlaut vorliegen." Farner 3, p. 53. See pp. 53-56, for a discussion of Zwingli's method of preaching without a manuscript.

28. For a recent edition of Zwingli's sermons, see Oskar Farner, Zwingli Hauptschriften, Volumes I, II.

29. Bullinger I, p. 12.

Such a generalized portrayal of Zwingli's preaching cannot provide an authoritative picture of specific content, but this picture is consistent with the understanding of the essential Zwinglian theology. In general, Zwingli's preaching was directed toward the ends of freeing his listeners from the world of superstition and counterfeit religion. Consequently, in February, 1519, Zwingli once again opposed the indulgence-seller Samson--even with the approval of the Bishop of Constance. In a positive sense he encouraged the practical Christian life and going beyond appearance to the one and only Savior. This impression is further enhanced by a very brief remark in a letter of Zwingli to Beatus Rhenanus, dated June 7, 1519. He mentions to Rhenanus that he is interested in what Luther's treatment of the adoration of the saints might be in his forthcoming Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Zwingli is concerned with the adoration of the saints because, as he says in passing, "we have forbidden it." [CR VII: 181: 7] At this early date Zwingli confesses that he has forbidden what was certainly in his mind an obvious manifestation of false religion. Adoration was due God, not creatures.

It is possible therefore to conclude that Zwingli's preaching, even as early as his move to Zurich in 1519, was at once essentially evangelical in character and a powerful force in the development of the Reformation. It may be true, as Koehler emphasizes,[30] that

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30. W. Koehler, "Zwingli," col. 41.

Zwingli was actually still a Catholic at this time; for, the break with Rome was yet to come. Nevertheless, it is apparent that Zwingli was essentially an evangelical Catholic, already forming his theology and church activity on the basis of his false-true religious principle. To say this is simply to affirm that Zwingli already possessed the understanding of the Gospel which later forced him to withdraw from the Roman Church. He had made, for example, what was tantamount to a re-discovery of the Bible in his preaching. E. G. Rupp's appreciation for Zwingli's preaching led him to conclude that the Zurich Reformation had indeed begun when Zwingli announced he would preach straight through Matthew. The importance of this event for the Reformation can hardly be overemphasized.

> Shortsighted and with a weak voice, he lacked the gifts of the popular orator, but his preaching is the secret of his dominance of the great city, and not all his actions in the small or great council can match it in importance. It is something with few parallels (Calvin, Knox, Latimer?)--this continuous biblical exposition, adjusted to the practical needs of each changing day, in a community small enough for everybody to be known, and where all the effective leadership in the city sat under the Word. The historicity of the mandate of 1520 whereby the council authorized evangelical preaching has been questioned, but of the fact there is no doubt; this scriptural preaching went on here, first of all the cities of Switzerland.[31]

### (2) Deepening Piety

The emphasis upon Zwingli's Christian experience as a gradual process does not mean that there were no prominent experiences of great

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31. E. G. Rupp, "The Reformation in Zuerich," p. 99.

consequence. Zwingli is best understood in terms of consistent and gradual growth. When Huldrych came to Zurich, the shape and direction of his personal experience as well as the explication of that experience was already largely determined. His experience was a movement from an external religion into a mature inward and spiritual religion which was nonetheless expressed in practical piety and experience. Furthermore, it is to be expected that this process manifests itself in certain peak experiences in Zwingli's career. One such peak experience which is expressive of the deepening piety of Zwingli is found in the plague experience of 1519.

Johannes Stumpf records in his Swiss and Reformation Chronicles the appearance of a great pestilence in Germany: "At this time a swift and horrible pestilence reigned in all German countries and also affected a remarkable number of people within all the cantons of the confederacy in a short time."[32] When the plague struck Zurich, Zwingli was resting in Pfaeffers. He returned home quickly in order to minister to his parishioners, only to be stricken himself. He lay near death for a time and then recovered. After his recovery, exactly when is not known, Zwingli composed his famous plague song[33] while reflecting upon the religious feelings he had

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32. Ernst Gagliardi, Hans Mueller, and Fritz Buesser (eds.), Johannes Stumpfs Schwiezer- und Reformationschronik, p. 163.

33. Ein christenlich gsang gestelt durch H.Z., als er mit pestilentz angriffen ward, CR I: 67-69. For an English translation see "A Christian Song Written by Huldreich Zwingli when he was Attacked by the Pestilence," Jackson I, pp. 56-56. It is generally accepted that Zwingli wrote the poem during the last portion of 1519 soon after

experienced during his illness and recovery.

The song is composed of three stanzas which cover Zwingli's reactions at three distinct periods in relation to the illness: the beginning of illness, during the course of illness, and convalescence. The outstanding features of the poem are Zwingli's recognition of the transitoriness of earthly existence, that his only consolation lies in dependence on the grace of God, and that henceforth his life is to be lived in dedication to God alone. At the beginning of his illness, Zwingli cries to God,

> Will'st Thou however
> That Death take me
> In the midst of my days,
> So let it be!
> Do what Thou wilt;
> . . . . . .
> Thy vessel am I
> To make or break altogether.
> For, if Thou takest away
> My Spirit
> From this earth,
> Thou dost it, that it may not grow worse,
> Nor spot
> The pious lives and ways of others
> [CR I: 67: 17-68: 6][34]

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his recovery. See CR I: 62-63. Bullinger I, p. 29ff. merely states that when Zwingli recovered with the help of God he wrote the plague song, leaving the impression that it was soon after the experience. Arther Rich, Die Anfaenge der Theologie Huldrych Zwinglis, p. 105ff. suggests that Zwingli wrote the poem somewhat later, perhaps a year or two. Rich feels this is necessary in order to support his theory that Zwingli experienced a radical evangelical conversion before he wrote the song, but after 1519. For the purposes of this study either date is acceptable since it is the contention of this thesis that Zwingli's personal experience of the Gospel was not cataclysmic, and began well before either 1519 or 1520/21.

34. Jackson I, p. 56.

During the course of the illness Huldrych recognizes that his only consolation, God's grace,

> ... will surely save
> Everyone, who
> His heart's desires
> And hopes sets
> On Thee, and who besides
> Despises all gain and loss.
> [CR I: 68: 14-19][35]

This recognition of the necessity of the grace of God was brought about by Zwingli's experience of his own helplessness.

> My tongue is dumb,
> It cannot speak a word.
> My senses are blighted.
> Therefore is it time
> That Thou my fight
> Conductest hereafter;
> Since I am not
> So strong, that I
> Can bravely
> Make resistance
> To the Devil's wiles and treacherous hand.
> [CR I: 68: 21-31][36]

After he has recovered, Zwingli experiences a sense of dedication to God in the realization, since he had come so close to death, that this world has little to offer him in itself.

> Since I came
> So near;
> So will I still
> The spite and boasting
> Of this world
> Bear joyfully for the sake of the reward
> By thy help,
> Without which nothing can be perfect.
> [CR I: 69: 22-29][37]

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35. Ibid., p. 57.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.

This poem reflects a growing sense of personal dedication to God's work. It is not necessary to view it as evidence of any change of direction in Zwingli's growth. Although one should be careful not to read too much into either the song or the plague experience itself, it is safe to say the experience was significant. Zwingli had come close to death, and he had lost his brother, Andrew. He certainly experienced his own helplessness in the matter of life and death. Leonhard von Muralt suggests that the basic experience which Zwingli had during the time of the plague was that of a powerful and immediate relationship to God. "In the hand of God alone lies the decision about life and death, about the victory by sickness or health, even about the value or worthlessness of spiritual man also, indeed, of man in general."[38] What more valid proof could one have of man's inability to determine for himself the important matters of life. The real source of determination over man's life was not man himself, but God. He must turn from reliance on his own power to dependence on God, recognizing that earthly life will pass, and that true help lies beyond the transitory in the grace of God. Herein lies the significance of the plague experience for Zwingli's personal development. Given Zwingli's already developed sense of false and true piety based on the distinction between corporeal and spiritual religion, his tendency to judge mere physical existence as inherently

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38. Leonhard von Muralt, "Zwinglis dogmatisches Sondergut," Zwingliana, Vol. V, (1932), p. 323.

weak was strongly enforced. True health and joy came only from the grace of God--a source that was essentially beyond man's ability to determine.

C. Preliminary Revolt: The Affair of the Sausage-eaters

Zwingli's preaching in Zurich soon was creating unrest among his listeners. Having given up his papal pension in 1520, he was finally free to raise questions where the Pope himself was concerned. He preached against harmful military alliances with anyone, including the Pope.[39] He was not actively opposing the Pope, and there is no evidence that he was seeking disassociation or excommunication from the Church of Rome. Potter points out that Zwingli was simply calling for action:

> Tithes, he said, to the delight of the agriculturalists, should be voluntary; the service-book of the Grossmuenster should be simplified; there was nothing in the Gospel that demanded abstinence from meat.[40]

It was in this latter matter of eating meat that the first instance of obvious revolt is visible in Zurich.

The occasion was essentially a simple one. A group of men, including Zwingli and two other pastors, had gathered during Lent in the house of the Zurich printer, Christofer Froschauer. Encouraged by the tone of Zwingli's preaching and pressed by an approaching

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39. See Bullinger I, p. 51.

40. G. R. Potter, Switzerland, p. 149.

deadline for an edition of the Epistles of Paul which he was preparing for the Frankfurt book fair, Froschauer served a plate of sausage to his guests. Apparently all present broke the fast, save Zwingli, who in no way criticized their actions. "How strange," remarks Koehler, that a "question of the stomach would be the beginning of the Swiss Reformation."[41] Rilliet, assuming the role of pundit, remarks, "that the reformation should be inaugurated by an alimentary drama will not shock anyone who has lived in this part of the world."[42] It was, of course, much more than an affair concerning the choice of diets. Since it was forbidden to eat meat during the Lenten Fast, the event struck a blow at the very fabric of Roman Catholic authority and practice. It was more than a question of the freedom to eat meat. By their deed the sausage-eaters were raising a question as to the true nature of Christian faith and practice.[43] With Zwingli's approval the sausage-eaters were affirming that true godliness was not affected by what one ate or did not eat. That this occurrence in Zurich, and a similar one in Basel,[44] was "the result

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41. W. Koehler, Huldrych Zwingli, p. 83.

42. Jean Rilliet, Zwingli, p. 67.

43. "Das Wurstessen ... geschah nicht um des Leibes, sondern um der Seele willen." W. Koehler, Zwingli, p. 83.

44. See Emil Egli, Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zurcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533, No. 232. A description of the event in Zurich is contained in No. 233. This work is an invaluable compilation of source materials relevant to the Zurich Reformation.

of the new preaching was obvious; neither friend nor foe interpreted it otherwise."[45]

In order to keep the matter from getting out of hand the City Council exercised its traditional regulative power and began an investigation of the affair. Froschauer wrote a letter to the Council in an attempt to excuse Zwingli and justify his own actions.[46] His own justification was based on arguments from the practical necessity involved in the impending deadline, and, more important, as a particular understanding of Christian faith. He praised Zwingli and suggested that Zurich was fortunate to have such a preacher, the equal of which could not be found in all the German lands. He then appealed to the Scriptures as authority for his understanding of the Christian life:

> Gracious Lords, I know that no one can either assign guilt or discipline me in the matter. For I have acted with a free heart ... and have not borne any wantonness therein. Therefore I am of the opinion and trust that I have herein justified myself; for, I have not done anything against your laws nor against the Holy Scriptures. For I believe the Holy Scriptures which say that a Christian life is not dependent upon food nor drink--indeed, upon no external works--but only on true faith, trust, and love so that we may all live simply, friendly, justly and truly with one another.[47]

This was a clear statement of Zwingli's false-true principle.

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45. Farner 3, p. 241.

46. See E. Egli, Actensammlung, No. 234.

47. Ibid. Underlinings added.

Froschauer felt free to offer meat during Lent because he did not understand the religion of the Scriptures to lie merely in external practices such as fasting. Neither fasting nor eating meat was essentially related to true faith. In fact, to make faith dependent upon external criteria was contrary to the Scriptures. "For I believe the Holy Scriptures which say that a Christian life is not dependent upon food nor drink." The central issues, therefore, of this first obvious revolt, as defended by this disciple of Zwingli are understandable in terms of the false-true religious principle.

On March 29, in answer to the problems raised by the sausage-eaters, Zwingli preached the sermon Concerning Choice and Liberty Respecting Food. [CR I: 88-136][48] This sermon, which was published April 16, was a major statement by Zwingli, manifesting his false-true religious principle as well as containing an illustration of the application of his social principle.

In this sermon Huldrych judged the actions of his friends from a theological perspective based on the nature of true religion as revealed in the Scriptures.

> What should I do, as one to whom the care of souls and the Gospel have been entrusted, except search the Scriptures, particularly again, and bring them as a light into this darkness of error, so that no one, from ignorance or lack of recognition, injuring or attacking another come into great regret. [CR I: 91: 1-5][49]

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48. Jackson I, pp. 70-112.

49. Ibid., p.72.

The standard of judgment in the matter was to be found in the Scriptures. Zwingli introduces the role of the Spirit of God into this treatise, but does not expand the treatment as he does later. The Spirit speaks to men through the Scriptures. "But when the Spirit of Truth shall come, it will teach you all the truth, that they [men] will understand all things according to the light of the Holy Ghost." [CR I: 135: 23-25][50] Zwingli uses the concept of God's Spirit to distinguish between true and false faith in God. In one instance Zwingli remarks that God's Spirit spoke to warn those men

> who did not put trust in God, but in their own works which they themselves chose as good. ... Such things are placed in them by seducing spirits and devils, that inspire men with hypocrisy, that is, with the outward form, lead men away from trust in God to confidence in themselves. [CR I: 95: 10-15][51]

The Spirit of God speaks to man through the Scriptures, revealing the nature of true belief to consist in spiritual matters rather than external forms.

Zwingli further maintained that all regulations governing a person's choice of food or abstinence were basically Jewish in nature and were therefore done away with in the New Testament by Christ. Eating or not eating a particular food did not make one man more worthy than another. The unfortunate result of trusting to such

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50. Ibid., p. 112.

51. Ibid., p. 76.

external regulations was that they "lead men away from trust in God to confidence in themselves." [CR I: 95: 15][52] Man creates idols that come between himself and God when he relies on external regulations. Christ had freed man from the necessity of being enslaved to such externals.

> If we are dead with Christ to the rudiments of the world--that is, if Christ by his death made us free from all sins and burdens; then we are also in baptism--that is, in belief, freed from all Jewish or human ceremonials and chosen works, which he calls the rudiments. If we are now dead to the rudiments, why do we burden ourselves with fictitious human ordinances? [CR I: 130: 27-131: 6][53]

If God had seen no need to leave man enslaved to ceremonies, why should man feel it necessary to add them? "How dare a man add to the testament, to the covenant of God, as though he would better it? [CR I: 134: 24-25][54] Such human efforts were not necessary in the light of Christ's work as mediator. Zwingli implored his followers to have faith in God, not in their own works or merits.

> O Christian of right belief, consider these words well, ponder them carefully, and you will see that God desires that we hearken to him alone! If now we are thoroughly imbued with him, no new God will be honoured within our hearts, no man instead of God, no feeling of our own instead of God. [CR I: 105: 26-30] [55]

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52. Ibid., p. 76.

53. Ibid., p. 108.

54. Ibid., p. 111.

55. Ibid., p. 86.

He contrasted this manifestation of true religion with the practices of false religion--religion founded on human laws and external regulations.

> But if we do not hear the true warnings of God, he will let us walk according to the desires and devices of our own hearts. Do we not see that consolation oftener is sought in human hearts than in God; that they are more severely punished who not only transgress but also despise and reject God's laws? Lo, these are the new idols which we have cast and chiselled in our hearts. [CR I: 105: 50-106: 4][56]

In short, it is apparent that Zwingli's conception of true religion was not based upon external practices and visible human laws. Herein is his false-true religious principle obvious. The appearance of what religion ought not to be all the more clearly revealed what true religion should be. If man is free from false religion, the question arises as to why not immediately do away with all such useless manifestations?

Zwingli remarked that "the liberties, which are given to man by God, touching the law of food and other such things, should be considered with regard to God and man." [CR I: 125: 9-11][57] Having considered the question of freedom from externals with regard to God in terms of false and true religion he next brought his social principle to bear on the investigation. It was not enough only to state the truth. He had to give the truth the opportunity to take

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56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., p. 103.

hold of the people effectually. He felt he should "gradually teach the weak with all industry and care, until they are instructed, so that the number of the strong is so large that no one, or still only a few, can be offended." [CR I: 125: 33-126: 1][58] His concern for his people always forced him to proceed slowly, carefully educating the people as to the truth of the Scriptures.

True faith was always closely related to the concern for the people. The freedom inherent in true godliness was not to become a stumbling block to those who had not yet been set free from external religion to true faith.

> The kingdom of God is not food or drink, but piety, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Whoever serves Christ in these things, is pleasing to God and approved before men. Let us then strive to do the things which lead to peace; and that we may edify one another (that is, properly instruct), do not make God's work (piety, peace, and joy, as is written above) of no avail on account of food. All things are clean, but it is bad that a man eat with vexation and offence as a result. It is proper and good that a man eat no meat and drink no wine, indeed eat nothing, whereby your brother is vexed or offended or whereby he is made ill. ... Thus should we, who are strong in belief, be patient with the timidity of the weak, and not please ourselves, but each of us please his neighbor by edifying and doing him good. [CR I: 115: 13-22, 27-30][59]

Zwingli's desire for the establishment of true worship was always linked closely to his concern for the effective strengthening of true faith in the people. He was not dedicated to an ideal that was

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58. Ibid., p. 104.

59. Ibid., p. 94.

to be reached at all costs. Rather he always tempered his efforts at reform by moderation. Nothing was to be lost by waiting a short time. In fact, true religion was to be better served by having the whole-hearted dedication of all the people.

In essence, then, Zwingli supported his friends who had broken the Lenten fast. After all they had not really violated any principles of true piety. But, on the other hand, he counseled temperance in the abolition of the ecclesiastical practices against which he was preaching. His influence was no doubt felt in the City Council, for no strong discipline was inflicted on the offenders. Instead the Council merely forbade further such fasting violations and left the matter of personal guilt to be resolved by the sausage-eaters themselves in their visits to the confessional.

However, the matter was not destined to end so quietly. The Bishop of Constance, Hugo von Hohenlandenberg, hearing of the breach of the Lenten fast, was not disposed to let the affair go without an investigation. In a letter to Erasmus Fabricius written in April, Huldrych told of the events of April 7-9 surrounding the visit of the appointed delegates from Constance.[60] Apparently the delegates, Melchior Fattlin, John Warner and Nicholas Brendlin, wished to make a simple statement to the city government without having to risk

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60. "Letter of Huldrych Zwingli to Erasmus Fabricius about the Proceedings on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of April, 1522, of the Delegates Sent to Zurich by the Bishop of Constance," Jackson I, pp. 113-129. CR I: 142-154.

a confrontation with Zwingli. They were not successful. Zwingli heard of the visit and not only attended the meetings but spoke up in his own defence at their accusations.

The occasion was not actually a debate since the delegates were only interested in laying the charges before the Zurich government. Of course, this did not prevent Zwingli's answering the charges which were obviously leveled chiefly at him. Basically the delegation from Constance accused "certain persons" in Zurich of teaching new and strange doctrines as well as opposing the traditional ceremonies of the church such as the observance of Lent and fasting.

Zwingli confessed that he wanted to see "a fair portion of the ceremonials and prescriptions done away with." [CR I: 148: 35-36][61] He justified his stance by insisting "that Peter was of the opinion that Christians ought to be free from burdens and bitterness of this kind." [CR I: 148: 40-149: 2][62] He compared the useless ceremonies with which the church was burdened down to the ceremonies of the Jews. In fact, many of the ceremonials were more onerous to Christians than they had been to the Jews. Zwingli's continued appropriation of the false-true religious principle is obvious. "Ceremonials achieved nothing else than the cheating of Christ and his faithful followers and doing away with the teachings of the Spirit, calling men away from the unseen to the material things of this world." [CR

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61. Jackson I, p. 121.

62. Ibid.

I: 149: 35-38][63] Zwingli denied that he had set up new practices. He was merely returning to the scriptural practices of the early church. He did not wish to do away with fasting or the practice of observing Lent. He only wanted to resist forcing the observance unnecessarily upon those who did not wish to fast.

The results were inconclusive. No debate had been held. No victory awarded. However, the affair of the sausage eathers was not of little importance. The first open opposition to the authority of The Roman Catholic Church had come and gone. In spite of the delegation's visit the offenders were not severely punished, even though everyone was enjoined from further violation of established church practice. It was also significant that the justification for the event--in fact, the motivation of the occurrence--was Zwingli's preaching, based on the co-extensive religious and social principles.

### D. Zwingli's Reply to Bishop Hugo

The Bishop of Constance, Hugo von Hohenlandenberg, was not satisfied with the resolution of the affair. On May 24 he sent a letter to the chapter of the Grossmuenster. His complaint centered about the

> reports that there are, almost all through Germany, people of Christ who cry out day and night that the people of Christ have been wrongfully oppressed until now by the heads of the church with hard and burdensome regulations, observances, and ceremonials, in

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63. Ibid., pp. 122-123. Underlining added.

> consequence of which such persons are trying with all their might to cast off and do away with ceremonials. [CR I: 263: 32-264:3][64]

He accused these people of irresponsibly seeking freedom and of destroying the good with what they call the bad. For, "when they strive to pull up out of the field of the Lord what human ordinances they call tares and cockles, we see, alas the wheat also being rooted up before our eyes." [CR I: 264: 6-9][65] The result of this uprooting was the disturbance of the peace and unity of the Republic of Christ. "For they are renewing the old-time attack upon the unity of the Church, and are bringing into play again their sacrilegious machinations with their customary wiles." [CR I: 266: 7-8][66] Hugo saw his task as preserving the unity of the church and respect for the pious traditions against heretics. It was to this end that he implored Zwingli and his followers "to abide in the unity of Holy Mother Church and in obedience to those set over you, and not to cast away thus hastily the ceremonies of the Church introduced by our forefathers." [CR I: 269: 32-270: 2][67] In the light of this analysis and the accompanying exhortations it is not surprising that Hugo defined false religion as "whatever is set up by the favour of

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64. "Admonition Sent to the Chapter of the Great Minster by the Most Reverend Lord Bishop of Constance," Jackson I, p. 208.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., p. 211.

67. Ibid., pp. 216-217.

man to the injury of the order of the Church." [CR I: 267: 27-28][68] Hugo was concerned to keep peace and maintain the unity of the Church. To do this it was necessary to keep the ceremonies and traditions of the Church. If one did otherwise he was a heretic and advocate of false religion.

It was three months before Zwingli could draft a reply to the Bishop's charges. On August 23 he published his Archeteles, "that is, the beginning and the end of all the tension."[69] The content of the Archeteles was shaped by practical concern, i.e., the response to Bishop Hugo's Admonition. The treatise is a prime example of the influence that abuses exercised in Zwingli's formulation of his theology. The several points that Hugo was making were not consistent with Zwingli's doctrine of the sole mediatorship of Christ. As Zwingli viewed Hugo's arguments from this theological perspective he was forced to make more explicit his implicit doctrine of true religion.

Zwingli wrote that "the matter in dispute is whether as much ought to be attributed to the traditions of men as to the word of God." [CR I: 274: 20-22][70] In several places he distinguished between false manifestations of religion which rely on human traditions and ceremonies and true religion which is based on the Scripture and

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68. Ibid., p. 213.

69. Bullinger I, p. 79

70. "Defence Called Archeteles," Jackson I, p. 223.

seeks God alone. He sought to describe false prophets according to Christ's description of them[71] as men "who with signs and wonders, not to say jugglers' tricks, cast a spell even upon the elect, and exhibit Christ where they will." [CR I: 288: 18-20][72] Similarly he contrasted true Apostles with false apostles.

> The false apostles demand almost divine honours ... The Apostles taught men only to recognise the grace of God, and its fulness brought to them through Christ. The false apostles cease not to shove upon the shoulders of men heavy and unbearable burdens, and compel them to buy off their wrongdoings for money as if they were merchandise. [CR I: 302: 13-19][73]

In short, Zwingli described true religion in terms of the pristine manifestations of religion which relied on immediate relation to God rather than on the ceremonies and traditions which came later. In fact, God is served in vain by such ceremonies.[74]

It is clear that for Zwingli true religion was scriptural religion; false religion was not. He wrote, "Yet I beg you meanwhile to reflect how illusory and feeble those things are which are devised by a man however wise, if they be not according to the rule

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71. "Then if anyone says to you, 'Lo, here is the Christ!' or 'There he is!' do not believe it. For false Christs and false prophets will arise and show great signs and wonders, so as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect." Matthew 24: 23-24. (RSV)

72. Jackson I, p. 243.

73. Ibid., p. 259.

74. "What harm, pray, is going to happen to us if the whole rubbish-heap of ceremonials be cleared away, since God declared that he is worshipped in vain by these things?" CR I: 271: 29-30. Ibid., p. 219.

of the divine will and Scripture." [CR I: 299: 1-9][75] Zwingli's reliance on Scripture as the source of true piety could not be more explicitly stated. The return to the Scriptures carried with it the denial of the traditions and ceremonies which have been added since apostolic times. Zwingli wished only to return to Christ; for no man disregards Christ without loss of his soul.[76] The crux of the matter theologically was that Hugo's emphasis on the external institutions had led him to disregard Christ. Zwingli, on the other hand, focuses on the redemptive work of Christ:

> Christ won the Church by his own blood. For it is the formula of salvation. Whoever, therefore, believes it, belongs to that Church of Christ which he won by his blocd. For faith alone is the ground of salvation. ... What have ye to do with the Church that rests on flesh and blood? [CR I: 320: 2-8][77]

Zwingli's concern here is not for the external church, but for the true church that is comprised of those who have faith in Christ, the only true Mediator. True religion is expressed in the true church; the sole foundation for either is the righteousness of God received in faith through Christ's saving work. Zwingli is maintaining a reformation principle: the essence of true religion is revealed in the salvation mediated through the work of Jesus Christ. Underlying the whole episode of sausage eating and external

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75. Ibid., p. 255.

76. Ibid., p. 276.

77. Ibid., p. 282.

manifestations of faith is the conviction that man is helpless to effect his own salvation by works and that all practices instituted to that end are riddled with falsehood. Salvation is the work of God received in faith.

The role of the Spirit of God is expanded in the Archeteles. The spiritual man is able to understand the Scriptures better than the scholars because "they depend wholly upon the spirit--that is, the mind of God." [CR I: 279: 21][78] Zwingli's doctrine of the Spirit has implications also for his method of exegesis; He asserts that "the Gospel consists not in the words of Scriptures, but in their sense; not in the outside, but in the pith; not in the leaves of the language but in the root of its spirit." [CR I: 294: 22-24][79] The proper approach to the Scriptures necessitated relying on the Spirit of God to reveal the true message of the Gospel. Zwingli was not a biblical literalist in his approach to interpretation, for it was the Spirit rather than the words that was important. His biblical interpretation cannot be separated from the Gospel message.

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78. Ibid., p. 230.

79. Ibid., p. 251. Zwingli refers to canon law in this same sentence, specifically, Corpus iur. can., canon 64, causa 1, questio 1: "Marcion et Basilides, et ceterae hereticorum pestes non habent Dei euangelium, quia non habent Spiritum sanctum, sinc quo humanum fit euangelium quod docetur. Nec putemus in verbis scripturarum esse euangelium, sed in sensu; non in superficie, sed in medulla; non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis." Quoted in CR I: 294n. 3.

He knows that his interpretation of the Scripture is in accord with the Gospel "when God deigns to illuminate a man freely with His grace, to draw him to Himself, and comfort him and make him at peace and free from all taint of sin." [CR I: 294: 28-30][80] Any other message derived from the Scripture does not come from the Spirit, and therefore is not truly the Gospel. On this basis Zwingli was able to adjudge Hugo wrong because he relied on traditions for his interpretations which did not give proper place to the redemptive work of Christ.

Zwingli was certain of the foundation of his opposition to the traditional understanding voiced by Hugo. Against all the bishop's claims he presented the essence of scriptural religion, manifest in the continous work of the Holy Spirit: man is not saved by his own efforts and work, but only by the salvation effected in the ministry and death of Jesus Christ and received in faith. With this basic theological justification of the false-true principle, Zwingli was led to condemn many of the current religious practices as he knew them. He accused Hugo and his followers of having woven "a veil of human tradition over the Gospel, now letting the Gospel go altogether and advocating only human tradition." [CR I: 291: 3-5][81] Not only had the Gospel been obscured by tradition, the Good News had been discarded for human accretions. Zwingli also felt that many of the

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80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., p. 246.

clerics of his day were not worthy of their office, for they were not true bishops.[82] These counterfeit bishops were not content with the teachings of Christ and have unsuccessfully tried to improve upon them.

> For in place of the teachings of Christ, the worship of Aristotle has sprung up, and instead of men of Apostolic character, apostates have arisen; instead of men of thrift, men greedy of gain; instead of piety, superstition; and instead of simplicity, madness and hypocrisy. ... For they have drunk in other teachings than those of the Spirit, though if they had ever been properly imbued with the teachings of the Spirit, things never could have come to such a pass that none should be more densely ignorant of the heavenly teachings than those who venture to subordinate them to their own opinions, and to claim for themselves alone the right of expounding them. [CR I: 322: 33-323: 1][83]

In the light of such evidences of false religion, Zwingli attempted to describe and establish true religion once again.

In Zwingli's opinion it was to the advantage of all concerned, including the political order, to have only a minimum of ecclesiastical ceremonies.[84] Consequently, it was his desire to see the church return to that original simplicity of Apostolic times in its organization and practice. He suggested that "the common people, endowed

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82. "I admit, as far as I am concerned, that I have often said that a fair proportion of the bishops of our time are not real but counterfeit bishops, and I do not think I ought to be blamed for it either," CR I: 279: 34-280: 2. Ibid., p. 231.

83. Ibid., p. 286.

84. "Now for the first time we poor mortals learn that the Republic of Christ cannot exist without ceremonials, though it was never better off than at the time when there were the fewest possible ceremonials." CR I: 308: 17-19. Ibid., p. 266.

with the harmlessness of the dove, will yield to the Gospel alone, and the less vitiated with the dregs of human traditions, the more capable they are of receiving the heavenly teachings, to which they flee for refuge in confidence as to a sacred anchor." [CR I: 279: 14-17][85] The true worshippers of God, the truly enlightened, had no need of ceremonies.[86] It was true that one result of this establishment of true religion would be the disruption of the peace of the church, but this was of minor importance. The Gospel could exist where there was discord,[87] and it was more important that the Gospel be preached than that peace and unanimity be maintained. This is hardly surprising since, as Zwingli viewed it, the Roman concern for unity was but a concern for external religion. True religion, on the other hand, was concerned with worship of God, whatever the external consequences might be. Whatever was not necessary for true religion was to be abolished. Furthermore, since the papal Church and its traditions were not essential to the practice of true religion, Zwingli was also advocating a religion for the laity. For, "the more unskilled a man is in human devices and at the same time devoted

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85. Ibid., p. 230.

86. "Hence it is clear that all this brew of ceremonials is of no concern to those who have already come back to wisdom, but only to those who still stumble about in the darkness of human devices, disregarding Christ and his teaching." CR I: 276: 8-11. Ibid., p. 226.

87. "I cannot understand in what sense you think the statement ought to be taken that without unity of the church there can be no Gospel. For during the time when the doctrine of Arius had infected almost the whole Christian world ... there was a Gospel. I take it, for both sides rested their case on it, and yet there was a tremendous split in the Church. Therefore there can be a Gospel along with a split in the Church." CR I: 292: 16-23. Ibid., p. 248.

to the divine, the more clearly that spirit informs him, as is shown by the Apostles and by the foolish things of this world which God hath chosen." [CR I: 321: 36-322: 1][88] The Spirit of God came to the simple man, unencumbered by religious devices and ceremonies. There was no need of official church approval.[89] The Gospel had existed before the church as Zwingli knew it, and it was the return to this original church of apostolic times that he advocated.

In summary, in response to Bishop Hugo, Zwingli raised the question of true or false religion in the Archeteles in terms of the lack of scriptural and theological warrant for the ceremonies. True religion, understood as Scriptural religion, was free of human traditions and ceremonies. Such religion, relying solely on the Spirit of God, turned only to Christ. Secondly, he made a judgment on current religious practices, finding most of the institutional religion of his day to be false religion which did not satisfy the people's need for true godliness. Finally, he advocated the return to the simple practices of Apostolic times.

### E. Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God

During the summer of 1522 Zwingli had the opportunity to preach to the Dominican nuns in the Oetenbach convent. One of his sermons,

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88. Ibid., p. 284.

89. "Some people are still so blind as to think that the Gospel would have had no existence if it had not obtained the sanction of the Fathers." CR I: 294: 2-4. Ibid., p. 250.

Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God,[90] was published September 6, only two weeks after the Archeteles. While the scriptural emphases of both publications were similar, Zwingli expanded his explicit treatment of the role of Scripture in his sermon. In addition, the sermon is significant for its further explication of the theological bases of Zwingli's false-true religious principle.

In his sermon to the Dominican nuns, Zwingli laid the foundation for his doctrine of true religion from the perspective of his view of man. In the first place man was created in the image of God. This did not mean that man has the same physical image as God who obviously has no physical body, but that "in respect of the mind or soul ... we are made in the image of God." [CR I: 344: 6-7][91] It is the inward man that is made in the image of God. The result is that man naturally thirsts after God. "Everywhere we find the universal desire for eternal blessedness ... a desire which would never have concerned us, any more than it does the beasts or plants, had it not been native to us." [CR I: 346: 13-16][92] Since this thirsting for God is an inward and spiritual longing, there is a resulting distinction made between the old and new man. Zwingli writes that

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90. Von Klarheit und Gewissheit des Wortes Gottes, CR I: 338-384.

91. "Of the Clarity and Certainty or Power of the Word of God," LCC 24, p. 60.

92. Ibid., p. 62.

> The old man is that which partakes of the weakness of the nature of Adam and allows itself to be seduced and overcome by temptations because of the power of the flesh. What the new man is we learn from Paul's own words: it is that which is freed from the inordinate desires of the flesh and increases more and more in the knowledge of God, bringing out and clarifying and making brighter the image of the creator. [CR I: 349: 15-21][93]

Once again Zwingli characteristically makes use of a two-fold contrast. On the one hand is the old man, enslaved by the flesh, incapable of coming to God. On the other is the new man, freed of material and fleshly desires, who "studies righteousness and truth, which can never age, for God himself is righteousness and truth." [CR I: 350: 4-6][94] The new man constantly increases in the knowledge of God, clarifying, bringing out, and making brighter the image of God within him. The old man always seeks to obscure and darken the new man, "which is not called the new because it is created later in time, but because it is always fresh because it is not defiled by the shameful weakness of the flesh, and because it is ordained to possess eternity, in which there is neither age nor sin." [CR I: 349: 26-30][95] On account of this conflict which exists between the inner and outer man, Zwingli insists that "we should see to it that the inward man is not dominated by the outward in such a way as to serve the flesh and its lusts." [CR I: 352: 2-4][96] It should be

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93. Ibid., p. 65.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid., p. 67.

emphasized that the capacity for thwarting the outward man does not lie within human capacity, for

> we are under an obligation to live according to the law of God which we cannot fulfill. Like St, Paul,* then, we can only cry out: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And we must return the same answer: The grace of God through the Lord Jesus Christ. [CR I: 351: 33-352: 1][97]

Through an understanding of man's powerlessness for overcoming sin, Zwingli recognizes that only the grace of God in Christ could meet his need for victory over the flesh.

It is striking how Zwingli's doctrine of man informs his false-true principle. In the sermon his transition from a discussion of man to a discussion of the Word of God illustrates this point. There are two basic religious desires in man. The desire for false religion is a result of the victory of the outward man. On the other hand, there is the inward man's reaching to God in a spiritual, almost mystical longing. The consideration of the Word of God consequently arises when one realizes that "it follows necessarily that there is no law or word which will give greater delight to the inward man than the Word of God." [CR I: 352: 9-10][98] The deepest longings of man are not satisfied by external religion or mere corporeal spirituality. Since man's highest part is not the physical, that which can satisfy his deepest needs is likewise not physical.

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97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

> Such is the life and power of that Word, which sustains the soul of man as food sustains his body, but more so and in a different fashion. For he who keeps the Word or sayings of God will not see eternal death. So then we have come to the point where, from the fact that we are the image of God, we may see that there is nothing which can give greater joy or assurance or comfort to the soul than the Word of its creator and maker. [CR I: 352: 30-353: 3][99]

Having thus established his reasons for the investigation, Zwingli turns to a discussion of the clarity and infallibility of the Word of God.

First Zwingli assumes the power of God's Word. "The Word of God is so sure and strong that if God wills all things are done the moment that he speaks his Word." [CR I: 353: 8-9][100] God's Word is more powerful than all of creation and nature and is not limited in any sense by time, "seeing he is not subject to anything." [CR I: 357: 3-4][101] Whatever God has promised will certainly be done.[102] This assertion of the power of God's Word is all the more striking in the light of Zwingli's prior discussion of the weakness of man. What man cannot do God does for him.

Secondly, the Word of God is lucid. This is essential to Zwingli's biblical hermeneutic which issues ultimately in a religion

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99. Ibid., p. 68.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid., p. 71.

102. "The whole teaching of the Gospel is a sure demonstration that what God has promised will certainly be accomplished." CR I: 357: 29-358: 2. Ibid., p. 72.

for the laity, thus revealing Zwingli's socio-political principle. Not only is true religion that which focuses on God alone and not on physical phenomena, but, in addition, it is available to all people. For all men, through the grace of God, can have an immediate relationship to God. All Christians may rightfully and authoritatively interpret the Scriptures.

> Note that the gifts which God gives are known by the Spirit of God, not by the clever display of the words and wisdom of man, which is the spirit of this world ... He does not allow himself to be known by the spirit of this world; he reveals himself to babes. ... If we are to incline to his grace, there is no room for princely graces, for titles are of this world and not of God. God reveals himself by his own Spirit, and we cannot learn of him without his Spirit. [CR I: 369: 16-27][103]

No human teachers are required; for God himself instructs man and draws man to himself.[104] There are many false teachers who teach otherwise, but "it was the habit of Christ always to move from earthly things to the necessary doctrine of the Spirit." [CR I: 372: 34-35][105]

Zwingli's principle of biblical interpretation is grounded in the confidence that the Spirit of God will indeed reveal the meaning of God's Word to the man who truly seeks to know what God is saying

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103. Ibid., p. 82.

104. "None can come to the Lord Jesus Christ except he has learned to know him of the Father. And note who the teacher is: not doctores, not patres, not pope, not cathedra, not concilia, but the Father of Jesus Christ. And you cannot say, we are taught of men as well." CR I: 366: 24-29. Ibid., p. 79.

105. Ibid., pp. 84-85.

to him--as opposed to the man who reads his own opinions into the Scriptures. He feels certain that "even the lowliest can speak on Scriptures ... so long as he is inspired thereto by God." [CR I: 382: 7-9][106] Zwingli does not give evidence of having developed a systematic theory of exegetical method, but there are certain clues to his method of exegesis. In his only explicit statement he says,

> For it is not for us to sit in judgment on Scripture and divine truth, but to let God do his work in and through it, for it is something which we can learn only of God. Of course, we have to give an account of our understanding of Scripture, but not in such a way that it is forced or wrested according to our own will, but rather so that we are taught by Scripture: and that is my own intention. [CR I: 381: 21-26][107]

Here Zwingli opts for interpreting Scripture according to its natural sense. Such an approach would steer a middle course between merely literal interpretation on the one hand and allegorical interpretation on the other. It is the goal of the exegete to indicate the message from God that is contained in the words. He is not to twist or distort difficult passages, but is to interpret them in the light of other Scriptural passages. Above all, proper exegesis is to "let God do his work in and through" the Scripture. Thus the natural sense of the words will of necessity point to the redemptive activity of God in Christ, the sole mediator between God and man.

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106. Ibid., p. 93.

107. Ibid., p. 92.

It should be pointed out that Zwingli does not equate the Word of God with the Holy Scriptures. Although he might do so, he does not distinguish between the inner and outer word. The Word of God is always an inner word. "The Word of God [is] only that which comes from the Spirit of God." [CR I: 382: 23][108] It is a word that man can wholly trust.

> For the Word of God is certain and can never fail. It is clear, and will never leave us in darkness. It teaches its own truth. It arises and irradiates the soul of man with full salvation and grace. It gives the soul sure comfort in God. It humbles it, so that it loses and indeed condemns itself and lays hold of God. And in God the soul lives, searching diligently after him and despairing of all creaturely consolation. For God is its only confidence and comfort. [CR I: 382: 24-30][109]

The Word of God does not exist in and for itself. It exists to bring man into proper relationship with God.

Zwingli speaks with such assurance as to the manner of God's revealing himself because he had himself experienced a direct encounter with the Word of God. There could be no clearer proof to Zwingli of the wisdom of his position. He speaks of his experience in the sermon:

> Again, I know for certain that God teaches me, because I have experienced the fact of it: and to prevent misunderstanding this is what I mean when I say that I know for certain that God teaches me. When I was younger, I gave myself overmuch to human teaching, like others of my day, and when about seven or eight

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108. Ibid., p. 93.

109. Ibid.

> years ago I undertook to devote myself entirely to the Scriptures I was always prevented by philosophy and theology. But eventually I came to the point where led by the Word and Spirit of God, I saw the need to set aside all these things and to learn the doctrine of God direct from his own Word. Then I began to ask God for light and the Scriptures became far clearer to me--even though I read nothing else--than if I had studied many commentators and expositors. Note that that is always a sure sign of God's leading, for I could never have reached that point by my own feeble understanding. [CR I: 379: 18-32][110]

Ultimately Zwingli's doctrines of true and false religion must be traced back to his own experience of the Gospel. He had first experienced the hopelessness of false religion, only to realize that he could not command God's Word at will. He could only wait on God's revealing himself in His own way. In gaining true piety he had experienced the internalization of religion. He had learned to wait for the inward working of the Spirit of God. Herein lay the certainty of the Word of God; "for ... the doctrine of God can never be learned with greater certainty than when it is taught by God himself, for it comes from God, and he alone is truthful, indeed he is the truth himself." [CR I: 376: 2-5][111]

To summarize: in his sermon, Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God, Zwingli further explicated the chief lineaments of his evangelical theology. Man's amphibious nature was the source of the conflict in his seeking God by either external or internal means.

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110. Ibid., pp. 90-91.

111. Ibid., p. 87.

Since inward man was that part of man created in God's image, it was the inner man who truly thirsted after God. The word of man was powerless to effect the needed transformation. Consequently the Spirit of God came to renew inward man in clarity and by the power of the Word of God.

## F. Conclusions

As Zwingli entered the third decade of the sixteenth century he was ready to assume the role as Reformer of Zurich. Having encountered the Gospel he sought to bring his people into the same experience and practice of true piety. His basic search for true religion was not to change. Further explcation would show growth and development, but there would still be the commitment to the original intention.

The essential nature of reform in Zurich found its basis in a return to the Bible as the authoritative source of the manifestations of true religion. It was Zwingli's reflection on the abuses of false religion that further made clear the Scriptural prescriptions for true religion. This return to the Bible in the light of then current practices was of utmost significance, "for a precedent-loving people could find therein no authority for much that had been assumed to be of immemorial antiquity; prayers for the dead, obits, images, pictures, devotion to the saints were not known in the days of the New Testament."[112] This method of returning to the Bible for the means whereby the critical analysis of current practice could be carried out was most

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112. G. R. Potter, Switzerland, p. 148.

significant for what was found in the Scriptures--rather than in the return itself. It is at this point that Zwingli's experience of true piety was important.

Zwingli's personal faith may be comprehended as a search for true religion, which was closely related to his reflection on false religion. For example, his reflection upon the weakness of man and his own powerlessness in the face of imminent death had proved to him the viability of trust in God rather than in created substitutes for God. Consequently, Zwingli's faith led him to his opening attacks upon manifestations of false religion such as the sale of indulgences or prayers to the saints. Zwingli's experience, therefore, is best understood as the fruition of prior development, and always setting the stage for the continuing process of further development.

The close of 1522 found Zurich on the brink of ecclesiastical revolt. But the Reformation was not yet an accomplished fact. Zwingli had preached a scriptural religion that did not rely on external regulations and ceremonies. The initial rebellion, growing out of his preaching, came in the affair of the sausage-eaters during Lent. However, the final separation was yet to come. The breaking of the Lenten fast was less a victory for Zwingli than an opportunity to publish explicitly his ideas concerning the nature of true religion. In the three significant publications of 1522, Concerning Choice and Liberty Respecting Food, the Archeteles, and Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God, Zwingli began the task of formulating an explicit statement of the theological content of the true-false

religious principle. As has been stated, it is the Gospel witnessed to in the scriptures which announces that since man is helpless to achieve his own salvation, the creation of the new spiritual man is a divine work, accomplished through the sole mediatorship of Jesus Christ. All external, sensible exercises reportedly efficacious for salvation, are destroyed by the power of the Gospel in God's gracious redemption of men who receive the message of spiritual renewal in faith. Consequently, Zwingli made use of his false-true principle both in his pleas for the establishment of true worship of God and in his criticism of current practices. The influence "false religion" had upon the development of Zwingli's theology is further seen in the circumstances which led to the first two treatises. The Lenten regulations and the condemnation of the sausage-eaters who were exercising their Christian freedom led him to write Concerning Choice and Liberty Respecting Food while the Archeteles was composed in response to the doctrines propounded by Hugo. There is evidence that incipient reform was coming to explicit expression, but the process was deliberate rather than cataclysmic. The progress of the Reformation itself was a step behind the development of Zwingli and took its cues from his thought and resultant activity. Huldrych's own experience had led to the insight that true religion was characterized by spiritual piety and involvement of the laity. His preaching of such religion led to the Lenten affair. The treatises which followed brought the tenets of spiritual religion to the people prior to reform. Hence the Reformation was not established; for the

ecclesiastical practices had not been changed and the authority of Rome had not yet been overthrown. Yet, the seeds had been sown and Zwingli was relying on the Spirit and time to bring the plant to full fruition. Therefore, where 1519-1522 was prelude to Reformation, the first ten months of 1523 saw the breakthrough and growth of the early reformed church in Zurich.

## CHAPTER III

## APPEARANCE AND GROWTH OF EARLY REFORMED CHURCH IN ZURICH JANUARY, 1523--NOVEMBER, 1523

The seeds of revolt against the Roman Catholic Church, which had been sown in 1522, underwent a process of rapid germination in 1523. The disputation of January 1523, sponsored by the Zurich City Council, led to the initial public victory of the Zwinglian forces. By means of increased publication activity Zwingli solidified his gains and continued his explication of the theological bases of the infant reformed church. A ground swell of increasing controversy broke forth in widespread evidences of iconoclastic fervor. The Second Zurich Disputation in October prevented the unrest from getting out of hand and led directly to the final challenge to Catholic authority in Zurich. Zwingli's religious and social principles, which are evident throughout the activity of these ten months, provide guidelines to grasp the nature of early reformed church's growth in Zurich. It was essentially a time of transition. The victory of the Reformation was not yet won by November, but the stage was set for the final accomplishment of reform.

### A. The First Zurich Disputation

The First Zurich Disputation was necessary because of the unrest abounding in the city and surrounding areas of Zurich. Unity of

preaching did not prevail from the pulpit. Zwingli and his friends preached interpretations of the Gospel different from those expounded by the monks in their cloisters. Johann Stumpf describes the unrest and the resultant steps taken by the Zurich Magistracy:

> The preachers supposed that they were only preaching the Holy Gospel, the Word of God and the truth. Because of such disunity of preaching, which increased itself from day to day with not a little offending and seducing of the poor common people, it was decided by the government that it was necessary to discern the right foundation and truth from the Scriptures with the help of scholars. Thus, the Lords of the Zurich Council held a public debate on January 29 in the city of Zurich. They called the Bishop of Constance and all the priests in the city and territory to the disputation.[1]

The impact of the new preaching and the resolve of the Council to keep the peace is further shown in the call to debate issued by the Council:

> Now for considerable time much dissension and trouble have arisen between those who preach from the pulpit the word of God to the common people, some believing that they have preached the Gospel faithfully and wholly, whereas others blame them as though they had not acted skillfully or properly. On the other hand, the others call them sources of evil, deceivers and sometimes heretics; but to each one desiring it these offer to give account and reckoning about this everywhere with the aid of God's Scriptures to the best of their ability for the sake of the honor of God, peace and Christian unity. So this is our command, will and desire, that you preachers, priests, clergymen ... appear ... before us in our town hall and ... announce in German, by the help of true divine Scriptures, the matters which you oppose. When we, with the careful assistance of certain scholars, have paid careful attention to the matters, as seems best to us, and after investigations are made with the help of the Holy Scriptures and the truth,

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1. Johannes Stumpf, Reformationschronik, p. 174.

> we will send each one home with a command either to continue or to desist. [CR I: 481: 18-482: 11][2]

Here it is to be noted that it was the unrest previously caused by the effective preaching of Zwingli and his colleagues that brought about the decision to call a debate. The importance of the pulpit for the Reformation in Zurich, as elsewhere, can hardly be exaggerated. But the words from the pulpit were not in themselves enough to effect the needed reform.

Nor did the impetus for reform come from Zurich's Roman Catholic Bishop at Constance. Rather, the City Council assumed the power to handle the affair, and did so without consulting Hugo. The role of the magistracy in the Zurich Reformation is here clearly revealed. Although Hugo did not approve of the Council's authority in such ecclesiastical matters, it should be pointed out that the Council's role was accepted by the Zurichers, including Zwingli. It is important to recognize this endorsement of the Council's role in order to understand the nature of Zwingli's Reformation. For, not only is there the religious aspect of Zwingli's reform, which is expressed here in terms of a false-true principle; there is a socio-political dimension as well. Thus, even as the nature of the religious reform is to be grasped in the light of Zwingli's explication of true and false religion, so also is the manner in which the reform

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2. S. M. Jackson (ed.), "The Acts of the First Zurich Disputation, January, 1523, "Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli, pp. 43-44. (Hereafter: Selections).

was carried out a natural consequence of Zwingli's acceptance of the socio-political realities of his time. This is to say that practical reform was the natural result of Zwingli's theology and that he conscientiously made use of the vehicle for reform which was available to him, i.e., the Zurich Magistracy.[3]

Zwingli remarked during the early stages of the debate, while describing the circumstances that led to the calling of the Disputation, that his preaching was certainly one cause of the unrest at hand.

> And although I know that for the past five years I have preached in this city of Zurich nothing but the true, pure and clear word of God, the holy Gospel, the joyous message of Christ, the Holy Scriptures, not by the aid of man, but by the aid of the Holy Ghost, still all this did not help me. But I am maligned by many as a heretic, a liar, a deceiver, and one disobedient to the Christian Church, which facts are well known to my Lords at Zurich. [CR I: 487: 24-488: 3][4]

Since Zwingli had not published his sermons, it was not possible to judge the content of those sermons except by hearsay. To meet this

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3. Until recently there has been no satisfactory treatment of Zwingli's acceptance of the magistracy as a legitimate means of effecting the Reformation. This void has been admirably filled with the late 1967 publication by Robert C. Walton, Zwingli's Theocracy. According to Walton, "Zwingli's willingness to accept the presuppositions that underlay the magistracy's authority in the city and the place that the government already occupied in the constitution became the foundation on which he built his political theory; it also explains his close co-operation with the civil power, as well as the success of his programme of reform at Zurich." p. 220. Zwingli's acceptance of the role of the government as an agent of reform is described in terms of a socio-political principle that complements his religious principle because such acceptance was an active element in his reforming activity. It was not a matter of mere passive acceptance of the magistracy.

4. Selections, p. 48.

problem, Zwingli remarked,

> I have also brought together in outline the contents and import of all my speeches and sermons delivered at Zurich, have issued the same in German through the press, so that every one might see and know what my doctrine and sermons at Zurich have been, and shall be in the future unless I am convinced of something else. [CR I: 488: 14-18][5]

The outline which Zwingli published was his first systematic statement of his doctrine, the Sixty-seven Articles.[6] Although there is no way to prove that the particular doctrines of the Articles were actually the content of Zwingli's sermons, it is possible to discern the presence of the false-true principle in the propositions of 1523.

Zwingli begins the Articles with a contrast between his preaching based on the Scriptures "which are called theopneustos--that is, inspired by God," [CR I: 458: 5-6] and those who are wrong and blaspheme God in asserting that "the Gospel is nothing without the ratification of the church." [CR I: 458: 11-12][7] Here Zwingli characteristically takes as his point of departure the true source of religion, the Scriptures, as inspired by God--not the Church. This is reminiscent of Zwingli's leaving the pericopes and commentaries out of his first preaching in Zurich, relying instead on the direction of

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5. Ibid., p. 49.

6. Die 67 Artikel Zwinglis, CR I: 458-465. A recent English translation, together with the German and Latin texts, is Carl S. Meyer, Luther's and Zwingli's Propositions For Debate. pp. 35-57. This translation cannot be recommended however. A more reliable recent translation is Arthur C. Cochrane, Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century, pp. 33-44. The translations used here are the present author's.

7. Article 1: "Alle, so redend, das evangelium sye nuet on die bewernus der kilchen, irrend und schmahend gott."

the Holy Spirit for his aid to interpretation. Zwingli understands the difference which exists between him and the exponents of false religion to be in the authoritative source to which each turned. Whereas others turn to church-approved traditions, Zwingli maintains that he simply returns to the Scriptures and relies on the Spirit for proper interpretation. As was the case in his earlier writings, such as the Archeteles and Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God, Zwingli's assertion of scriptural authority is a preface to more specific arguments. He next summarizes the Gospel:

> 2. The summary of the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, True Son of God, has revealed to us the will of his heavenly Father, and by his innocence has saved us from death and reconciled us to God.
> 3. Therefore, Christ is the only way to salvation for everyone who has lived, now lives, or will live. [CR I: 485: 13-17]

If one returns to the Scriptures, one finds the message of the Gospel to be that it is Christ alone who has accomplished the salvation of man. Thus Zwingli has established his authority, the Scriptures, and the authoritative message, Christ alone as the way to salvation. Next, having set forth the authoritative guidelines by which he will judge expressions of religion, he asserts that

> 4. Whoever seeks or points out another door, errs. Indeed, he is a murderer of souls and a thief.
> 5. Therefore, everyone who judges other teachings to be equal to or higher than the Gospel is wrong and does not know what the Gospel is. [CR I: 458: 18-21]

On the basis of what he understands to be a true explication of the Gospel, Zwingli can accept nothing that does not correspond to that Gospel.

Zwingli then turns to a consideration of the relationship that should exist between Christ and those who truly believe in Christ. According to Zwingli, Christ is the "Leader and Captain promised to the whole human race by God." [CR I: 458: 22-23 (art. 6)][8] Consequently, Christ is "Eternal Salvation and Head of all believers." [CR I: 459: 1 (art. 7)][9] All those who live in the Head are the children of God, and comprise "the Church or community of saints, the bride of Christ: the church catholic." [CR I: 459: 4-5 (art. 8)] In addition, just as the body is dependent upon the head for direction, so also are the members of the body of Christ dependent upon Christ.[10] On the other hand, those members who do not rely on the Head are as foolish as the limbs of a body that might try to act without the direction of the head. Those foolish ones who act without Christ only "injure and burden themselves with unwise laws." [CR I: 459: 12-13 (art. 10)] In these first ten propositions for debate Zwingli lays a general foundation on which he judges true and false religion. First, he establishes the authoritative source of the Gospel--the Holy Scriptures interpreted under the direction of the Spirit of God.

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8. In this section on the Sixty-seven Articles the specific article will be designated along with the CR citation where it is not immediately obvious as to which article is intended.

9. "ein ewig heyl und houpt ... aller gloeubigen."

10. "wie die lyblichen glyder on verwalten des houpts nuet vermoegend, also in dem lyb Christi nieman uetzid vermag on sin houpt Christum." CR I: 459: 6-8 (art. 9).

Secondly, he explicates the authoritative message of the Gospel which requires complete dependence on Christ for salvation and direction in life and complete disavowal of all dependence on human and other transitory objects. It is from these perspectives that he proposes to judge the truth or falsity of religion. Therefore, anyone who turns to the Church as authority instead of to the Scriptures is in error, as is anyone who postulates additional and external means as necessary for salvation or the Christian life.

The remaining articles are largely an application by Zwingli of the basic principles evident in the first ten articles. In them the outstanding feature of Zwingli's criticism of the church of his day centers on the church's neglect of the true Gospel. The Church has wrongly assumed too much worldly power and authority and is therefore neglecting its spiritual obligations. This is wrong because "the so-called spiritual power has no basis for its arrogance in the doctrine of Christ." [CR I: 462: 15-16 (art. 34)] Whereas Christ is the Eternal High Priest, others have appointed themselves priests, thus opposing the honor and power of Christ, replacing him as the sole Mediator of God's salvation with human inventions and human works of salvation.[11] It is the way of falsehood to suggest that man can effect

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11. "Das Christus ein einiger ewiger obrester priester ist, daruss ermessen wuert, dass, die sich obrest priester ussgeben hand, der eer und gewalt Christi widerstreben, ja verschupfen." CR I: 460: 1-3 (art. 17). Also see Articles 18-23 for similar contrasts between what is due Christ and what the priests and monks assume for themselves.

his own righteousness or by his own efforts and works merit restoration to God. For "Christ is our righteousness; therefore we judge that insofar as our works are good they are of Christ, but that insofar as they are our own works they are not right or good." [CR I: 460: 19-21 (art. 22)] Christ alone is man's righteousness; all works apart from Him lack truth.

To remedy the situation Zwingli proposes that the Church give up its claims to worldly power and concentrate on the affairs of the Spirit.[12] The result would be a return to the fair exercise of worldly power by the secular authorities and a return to the practice of truly spiritual worship. If this were done all idolatrous practices and senseless regulations would be abolished; Christians would be free truly to worship God. The ostentatious and hypocritical practices would likewise be abolished. In short, Zwingli advocates the return to simple forms of Christian life and worship--most clearly revealed in apostolic times--in the desire once again to allow the reign of true religion.

The results of the debate ended in victory for Zwingli. Actually there had been little contest. Bishop Hugo had sent his vicar, John Faber, with instructions not to debate, but to press for a discussion before an acceptable church council.[13] Thus the expected great debate

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12. "Es soellen alle geistlich fuergesetzen sich ylentz nyderlassen unnd einig das cruetz Christi, nit die kisten, uffrichten, oder sy gond umb." CR I: 465: 11-13 (art. 66). Articles 34-43 contain Zwingli's statements on right government.

13. CR I: 490: 23-491: 17.

was only a minor discussion. It is not surprising that the Zurich Council voted to allow Zwingli to continue his preaching. Herein lay the ultimate significance of the First Disputation. In the context of the practical reform of the religious life of Zurich Zwingli's false-true principle had been further developed and also vindicated by the socio-political structure. Zwingli still had to move cautiously and with deliberate speed, but his work was endorsed by the Zurich magistracy.

B. The Publications of Summer, 1523

In addition to continuing his preaching and consolidating the gains made in the First Disputation, both within Zurich and in relation to the Confederacy at large, Zwingli brought several noteworthy writings into print in 1523.[14] In July Huldrych published his most extensive theological treatise, the Exposition and Basis of the Conclusions, which was a lengthy defense of the Sixty-seven Articles.[15] Two other writings were published by Zwingli within two days of each other: a sermon On Divine and Human Righteousness[16] on

14. For a narrative of the events following the First Disputation and prior to the Second Disputation, see Farner 3, pp. 359-463. The best account in English is Robert C. Walton, Zwingli's Theocracy, especially chapter ten, "The Results of the First Disputation," pp. 139-175. Walton's supersedes all previous English treatments.

15. Auslegen und Gruende der Schlussreden. CR II: 1-457.

16. Von goettlicher und menschlicher Gerechtigkeit. CR II: 458-525.

July 30 and Of the Education of Youth[17] on August 1. At the end of August Zwingli published in Latin On the Canon of the Mass, a meticulous study of the text of the canon of the mass.[18] Using philological and humanistic critical tools, Zwingli proved that instead of being early created in a unitary fashion the mass canon contained several levels of accretions from varied historical periods. In addition, he objected to the present canon on theological grounds and offered an acceptable series of prayers as an alternative. These works, published for widely differing reasons, provide insight into the basic principles of Zwinglian thought under investigation here.

(1) Exposition and Basis of the Conclusions

In the letter dedicating the Exposition ... of the Conclusions to the people of Glarus, Zwingli indicated that there were two audiences for whom he was writing the lengthy document.[19] In the first place it gave him the opportunity to prove to his opponents of the First Zurich Disputation, especially John Faber, that the articles were soundly based on the Holy Scriptures. Secondly, it provided the occasion to assure his friends that "these conclusions are founded on

17. Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sunt. CR II: 526-551. For an English translation see "Of the Education of Youth," LCC 24, pp. 102-118.

18. De canone missae epichiresis. CR II: 552: 608. This work was translated by Mr. Henry Preble for S. M. Jackson at the beginning of this century, but was never published.

19. CR II: 15: 4-14.

the clear and proper Word of God." [CR II: 15: 9-10] It was a momentous task, which took him from the beginning of February to the middle of June.[20] In a letter to Werner Steiner of Zug, written February 19, Zwingli remarked that he was working day and night on the articles.[21] "Moreover," said Zwingli, "I am writing in German, since the conclusions were also published in the German tongue." [CR VIII: 31: 5-6]

Zwingli intended the Exposition ... of the Conclusions to be a major statement of the issues at the heart of the controversy. "For these conclusions contain nearly all of the greatest points of controversy that are being debated in our time." [CR II: 16: 5-6][22] Many of Zwingli's friends, including Haller and Oecolampadius, wrote letters of encouragement to him during the time he was preparing the treatise, stating that they were looking forward to seeing Zwingli's thought in print.[23] Nor did Zwingli's opponents miss the significance of the document. Bishop Hugo later remarked that "in this little book are contained all of his [Zwingli's] errors and seductive doctrines."[24]

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20. Farner 3, p. 360.

21. CR VII: 31: 2. The terms "articles" and "conclusions" are used interchangeably.

22. See the similar statement in the letter to Werner Steiner: "Erit enim veluti farrago omnium opinionum, quae hodie controvertuntur." CR VIII: 31: 2-3.

23. Zwingli received two letters from Berchtold Haller mentioning the treatise: CR VIII: 59: 13-14 (April 8, 1523) and CR VIII: 76: 12-15 (May 9, 1523); one letter from Adam Weiss at Crailsheim: CR VIII: 65: 11-14 (April 14, 1523); and two letters from Johannes Oecolampadius: CR VIII: 90: 12-14 (June 16, 1523) and CR VIII: 92: 2-3 (July 8, 1523).

24. Quoted by Emil Egli, CR II: 3: 2-3.

Zwingli applied himself to the task of expressing more fully in the Exposition ... of the Conclusions the articles he had sought to debate with Faber; thus, the writing is a principal statement of his developing evangelical theology.[25] Christofer Froschauer published the document in Zurich on July 14, 1523. Although it is Zwingli's most comprehensive theological treatise, the Exposition ... of the Conclusions is only loosely organized. Consequently it is difficult to read and outline simply. The outstanding feature of the treatise is the overwhelming application of Scripture to the problems under discussion. In fact, it is this attempt by Zwingli to include as many scriptural proofs as possible in support of his position that makes reading this particular work somewhat laborious. In spite of this, however, the writing is possessed of a certain freshness and directness of style that one can appreciate. The value of this particular publication lay not only in that it was an inclusive theological treatment of major doctrines, but that it was written in the language of the people and easily comprehensible by them.

Primarily, the Exposition ... of the Conclusions is an expansion of the Sixty-seven Articles, which was a summary of Zwingli's reformation theology. He expands his explication of the Gospel as he

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25. See Farner's comment regarding the significance of the Auslegung und Begruendung der Schlussreden: "in erstaunlicher Weise hatte Zwingli die Reformation, wie er sie nun schon seit einigen Jahren im Sinne trug, hier schon zu Ende gedacht und so zurechtformuliert, dass er spaeter wenig Wesentliches daran zu aendern sich genoetigt sehen musste." Farner 3, p. 360.

understands it--thus indicating the basic tenets of true religion. Over against this portrayal of true religion he consistently sets examples of false religion, most clearly revealed in the Roman Catholic Church of his time. For purposes of clarity, the discussion here will concentrate on the delineation of Zwingli's principles of true religion drawn from the treatise as a whole in contrast to Zwingli's description of false religion.

Zwingli's first concern in the Exposition ... of the Conclusions is to assert the scriptural foundation of the various articles. "I am letting all brothers in Christ Jesus know that I have established the articles on the firm foundation of the Scriptures." [CR II: 22: 7-9] He is turning to the Scriptures rather than to the Church for his authority. Those who depend upon the Church instead of the Scriptures for true doctrines are listening to "human gossip." [CR II: 21: 8][26] That is, they are trusting to human authority and human contrivances instead of to the divine authority of the Word of God. Such a course of action is doomed to failure, for

> No man can come into the knowledge of Christ on account of human wisdom, doctrines or judgments--but only because of the drawing of the Father. Thus, human approbation is of no value as far as coming to knowledge of Christ is concerned. [CR II: 23: 1-4]

Man cannot know the will of God unless God reveals it to him. Therefore man must depend upon the Word of God instead of the word of man.

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26. "Menschentant."

> If anyone rightly knows Jesus Christ, he is taught by God--not man. Whoever listens to and learns from the Father is enlightened and drawn in his inner member and heart by Him. [CR II: 24: 14-17]

It is Zwingli's contention that Christians should return to the Scriptures as the objective authority for understanding the Gospel.

It is not only Zwingli's reliance on the Bible as authority that is significant. This emphasis is accompanied by a particular approach to interpreting the Bible that undercut Roman Catholic authority. In his short history of the methods used to interpret Scripture, Robert Grant succintly describes the difference between the Protestant Reformers and the traditional Catholic method of exegesis:

> Catholic exegesis relies strongly on the authority of the fathers. It interprets the Bible by the tradition of the Church. Protestant exegesis makes a fresh start, often overturning the accumulated decisions of centuries. For to the Protestant spirit the Bible is not a book of law like the American Constitution, interpreted by judicial decisions which possess binding force. It is a book of life through which God speaks directly to the human soul.[27]

Grant's analysis, though descriptive of the Protestant Reformers in general, is certainly a fair statement of the differences between Zwingli and the Roman Catholic position. The position Zwingli enunciated earlier in his sermon Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word is repeated here in the Exposition ... of the Conclusions.[28]

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27. Robert M. Grant, A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible, p. 128.

28. See above, pp. 71-76. In fact, Zwingli refers to the sermon at the end of the Auslegung des 1. Artikels. See CR II: 27: 12-14. It should be noted that the exposition of the individual articles, when referred to separately, are generally cited by separate titles corres-

Zwingli did not devote himself to developing an explicit theory of exegetical method. His regard for methodology was secondary to his theological concern. When Zwingli advocated a return to the Scriptures themselves, he was raising the issue of the locus of authority in the church. He was also asking a question as to the very nature of the Gospel.

Zwingli addresses himself to this problem in terms of the false-true principle, contrasting the position of the Roman Catholic Church with that of the Gospel. The papists err in that they point to the Councils or to the Fathers for their authoritative statements of doctrine.[29] If the Councils had truly gathered together in the name of the Holy Spirit, then they would point to God and not to themselves.[30] Zwingli, on the other hand, claims to go back beyond the Councils and the Fathers in order to learn directly from the Word of God. After all, "Paul had learned the Gospel from no man, but from the revelation of Jesus Christ." [CR II: 24: 18-19] Zwingli prefers to think that he is preaching the Gospel which Paul had preached--in fact, that he is preaching the Word of Christ Himself.[31] Such

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ponding to the number of the article under discussion. Hence, the Auslegung des 1. Artikels and the Auslegung des 18. Artikels, though rendered as individual treatises, are still to be understood as part of the Exposition ... of the Conclusions.

29. CR II: 26: 8-19.

30. CR II: 25: 18-20.

31. See Zwingli's statement in the Auslegung des 18. Artikels: "Ich predigen doch glych als wol wie Paulus schrybt; warumb nempstu mich nit as maer einen Paulischen? Ja, ich predgen das wort Christi; warumb nempstu mich nit as maer einen Christen?" CR II: 147: 10-13.

preaching is the essence of true religion; for it relies on the Spirit of God rather than the word of man.[32] A vivid contrast to this dependence on the Spirit of God are the papists, whom Zwingli identifies as all those who place themselves and their teachings above the Word of God.[33] Thus the dispute over right biblical interpretation is more than a matter of proper exegetical method; it is a question of true or false religion.

Zwingli frequently discusses the nature and content of the Gospel in the Exposition ... of the Conclusions--perhaps more than in any other treatise. It is a theme to which he consistently returns. He insists that since the Gospel is the only sure means of salvation, it is the only acceptable content of preaching.[34] In the Exposition of the Fifth Article he describes his understanding of the Gospel:

> According to the words of Paul in Romans Chapter One [v. 16], the Gospel is nothing but the power of God for the salvation of all believers. Note: You have heard that no one comes to God who does not do the will of the Heavenly Father. It has also been heard that we cannot fulfill His will. In the first place

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32. CR II: 80: 18-24.

33. "Baepstler nenn ich alle, so menschenleren, satzungen und pracht nebent dem gotswort achtend, ja sy achten 's hoeher. Dann das gotswort sag, was es welle, so beschirmend sy die meynung der roemischen baepsten und verschupffen das wort gottes." Auslegung des 18. Artikels, CR II: 116: 12-15.

34. "So durch das euangelion der mentsch so klarlich erlernet, wie er nuets ist, nuets vermag on got, und er aber daby got so gnaedig findt, das er sinen eignen sun uns zuo einem sichren heyl ggeben hat, das wir durch inn zuo got kummen gdoerind unnd moegind, so muoss ie volgen, das den menschen nuet gepredget werd dann das, darinn das gwuess heil steckt; das ist aber das euangelium." Auslegung des 14. Artikels, CR II: 73: 23-28.

> because we are sinners and dead for eternity; in the second, because the will of God is so clear, good and just that no creature can fulfill its measure. If we are taken from the first death, that is, the deprivation of the presence of God--which is genuine death--and from the cause of death--that is, sin--this can only come from the power of Life. Thus we find that the divine mercy, by virtue of its power, has given life through His Son to us who were previously dead; for He is life. Here we have the first part of the description of the Gospel: the Gospel is the power of God for salvation. [CR II: 37: 19-32]

Men need the Gospel because of their inability to follow the will of God; for it is too "clear, good and just" for men to fulfill it.

> Only Christ, who alone is without sin and at the same time is good, beautiful and pure with God the Heavenly Father, can do his will. And if we are faithful, that is, if we believe in the Lord Christ Jesus, that He is our reconciliation, etc., then He is all our perfection before God, our salvation, our payment and our satisfaction. [CR II: 37: 35-38: 4]

It is a characteristic Zwinglian emphasis to make the work of Christ as sole mediator the center of the Gospel. In his early years as reformer he directs his attention to Christ primarily in terms of His redeeming activity.[35] It is important to true religion to realize that man is sinful in himself and cannot come to God on his own. God Himself, through the work of Christ, meets man's needs.

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35. An example of Zwingli's referring to Christ by titles that point to his saving work is found in the Auslegung des 22. Artikels: "Er ist uns ouch die grechtigheit worden; denn nieman mag zuo got kummen, der nit grecht ist; und mag aber kein mensch fuer sich selbs gerecht sin. Christus aber ist gerecht unnd unser houpt, unnd wir sind sine glyder; also kummend wir, die glyder, zuo got durch die grechtikeit des houpts. Er ist ouch unser heiligheit worden; denn er uns mit sinem eignen bluot geheliget hat. Er ist ouch unsere rantzung oder lossgelt worden; dann er uns vom gsatzt, vom tuefel, von der suend erloesst hat." CR II: 236: 5-12.

> Now we have sufficiently learned, I hope, what the Gospel is, namely: After Adam had turned away from the light and leading of the divine Spirit, minding only himself, building on his own counsel in order to become great and like God, both he and we have fallen through that sin under the dominion or servitude of the law of sin and of severe death. We are not able to lead ourselves out from under that dominion. Since we are flesh, sinful and dead, we can never begin anew, and no one can improve our weakness, save God alone. Thus the merciful God has pitied our distress and misery so deeply that He has not only given us the word of His promise, but He has saved us through His own natural Son, and has reconciled us again to Himself. [CR II: 38: 5-16]

For Zwingli, the Gospel is essentially the message of God's doing for man what man cannot do himself: reconciling man to Himself through Christ, "who is righteous, indeed, who is Righteousness itself; He is also our Righteousness." [CR II: 236: 1-2]

Zwingli's judgment of the religion of his time is grounded in his concept of the Gospel. Practices that are not consistent with Zwingli's understanding of the work of Christ are manifestations of false religion. Christ is the touchstone from which one can properly adjudge religion to be true or false.[36] Only Christ is the foundation of the church. In the Exposition of the Fiftieth Article Zwingli writes "that Peter cannot be the foundation or ground of the church; for only Christ Jesus is that." [CR II: 370: 1-2] It is a man's

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36. "An disen goldstein, Christum, strych aller menschen ansehen, ratschlag und urteil. Ferwt es nun Christum, so ist es uss dem geist gottes und brucht die namen: vaetter, concilia, bruech, harkummen, gar nit. Ferwt es aber die erst genanten farwen: vaetter, concilia etc., so ist es nit uss got. ... Sich, hie findet man, was glouben, was leer gottes, was glychsnery, was leer und kat der menschen sye." Auslegung des 1. Artikels, CR II: 26: 7-11, 17-19.

relationship to God through Christ that determines whether or not he is truly in the universal church. "If he has all his confidence, hope and trust in God through Christ, then he is in the church,[37] that is, in the community of all pious Christians." [CR II: 61: 23-25][38] The Roman Catholic Church, however, fails to pass the test. "Therefore, all whose consolation is the Roman Church are not in the community of pious Christians; the comfort of the latter is God alone." [CR II: 64: 13-15]

Basically, the Roman Catholic Church is a false church because it trusts in what is not God. Roman Catholics trust in the creature rather than the Creator, but this cannot save them.[39] They think that they have the power to reconcile themselves to God, which is nothing but blasphemy and idolatry.[40] "Wherever a man places his confidence, there is his god." [CR II: 219: 13-14] Instead of truly honoring God the papists rely on the Pope, the Fathers, or the saints. They think that they are pious for all their prayers, vigils, and fasts, "but God Himself cries otherwise." [CR II: 86: 24-25] They

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37. "kilchen".

38. In addition to the concept of the universal church, which is his major concern here, Zwingli agrees that it is possible to apply the term church to a particular gathering of Christians--a congregation or community of Christians. "Zum andren wirt das wort kilch genommen fuer die besunderen zemenversamlungen, die wir pfarren oder kilchhoerinen nennend." Auslegung des 8. Artikels, CR II: 58: 9-10. Zwingli is not presenting a developed ecclesiology here so much as he is denying the right of the Roman Catholic Church to call itself the catholic church, by virtue of its failure to have faith in Christ.

39. CR II: 38: 19-23.

40. CR II: 94: 6-9.

create out of their own minds works, which will supposedly make them acceptable to God, but "nothing is true but what God demonstrates, and everything that does not have its foundation in the Word of God will not be found to be true; for, men are deceitful." [CR II: 76: 2-4]

In summary, the Exposition ... of the Conclusions is Zwingli's most inclusive reformation treatise. His goal is to present the scriptural basis of his developing theology, and he accomplishes this with an overwhelming display of biblical proofs. The false-true principle is nowhere more clearly revealed in Zwingli's works. The writing abounds with contrasts between his understanding of the Gospel, centering in the redemptive work of Christ, and his judgments on contemporary religious practices, seen especially in the Roman Catholic Church. He wishes to see true worship restored, which will be accomplished under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, as men turn their attention from themselves and their own so-called merits to God in Christ. In short, "the highest praise we can offer God is to consider Him the Highest Good in our hearts and to have Him as Father." [CR II: 224: 10-13]

### (2) On Divine and Human Righteousness

The immediate circumstance which prompted Zwingli's sermon On Divine and Human Righteousness was the growth of radicalism in Zurich and the surrounding areas. Heinrich Schmid specifies three men as the source of the trouble: Simon Stumpf, preaching at Hoengg; Wilhelm

Roeubli, preaching at Wytikon; and the private biblical expositions being given by Andreas Castelberger.[41] Castelberger was a lay preacher who was expounding "the epistles of Paul and the evangelical and Christian doctrines" to other small groups of laymen, meeting in private homes.[42] Bullinger points out that the preaching which was causing the unrest was directed against the images, consideration of the mass as sacrifice, and against pilgrimages--all manifestations of false, unscriptural religion.[43] The specific issue at hand that led to Zwingli's sermon on two kinds of righteousness centered about the question of paying tithes.[44] Walton suggests that "the extremists were exploiting genuine dissatisfaction over the misuse of tithes to force the immediate completion of the reform of the church."[45] A statement was necessary to prevent the matter's getting out of hand, and to justify the progress of reform as it was being carried out. Thus, in late June, Zwingli preached the sermon which was published a month later. For the purposes of this study, Zwingli's sermon is

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41. Heinrich Schmid, Zwinglis Lehre von der goettlichen und menschlichen Gerechtigkeit, p. 14. Schmid's work is the most complete study of the doctrines of divine and human righteousness in Zwingli's thought. Farner adds the names of Heinrich Aberli, Michael Hirt, Barthlime Pur, Klaus Hottinger, Lorenz Hochruetiner and Wolf Ininger. Farner 3, p. 381.

42. Farner 3, p. 381.

43. Bullinger I, pp. 126ff.

44. For a discussion and narrative of the controversy over tithes see Farner 3, pp. 380-396.

45. Robert C. Walton, Zwingli's Theocracy, p. 158.

of two-fold significance. First, it is another illustration of Zwingli's characteristic involvement in the socio-political realm. He preached the sermon to maintain peace in the social order and to justify the role of the magistracy in the maintenance of a Christian society in Zurich.[46] The sermon also is a theological statement in which Zwingli's false-true religious principle is active.

The sermon is comprised of two parts. The first section treats the nature of divine and human righteousness,[47] while the second part raises the question as to how divine and human righteousness is to be put into practice.[48] Zwingli's false-true principle allows him to distinguish between true and false conceptions and manifestations of righteousness.

Zwingli begins his analysis of divine and human righteousness, two kinds of righteousness that are intimately related, by discussing divine righteousness. God, asserts Zwingli,

> is the source of all innocence and piety and righteousness and everything good. For He is essentially Righteousness, Piety and All Good in Himself. Everything that is pious, righteous or good comes from Him. Just

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46. See Ibid., pp. 153-168. Walton's arguments are compelling. He concludes that "the sermon On Divine and Human Righteousness made explicit what had been implicit in Zwingli's co-operation with the magistracy throughout his ministry at Zurich. ... The co-operation of the pastor and the magistrate was essential to God's plan. In making these assumptions Zwingli re-asserted the mediaeval conception of society's purpose: life in the world was to be organized to help reach the Heavenly city." p. 167.

47. CR II: 474-493: 24.

48. CR II: 493: 25-525: 25.

> as He is not only true, but, as John says, is Truth itself [John 14: 6], so also is He not only righteous, but complete Righteousness itself. [CR II: 475: 16-21]

The righteousness of God is revealed to man through the Word of God.[49] Since the Word of God is always righteous and good, man recognizes the righteousness of God in His Word.[50] In addition,

> God demands that we be as He is, if we wish to dwell with Him. For as a steward will permit no servant to be in his service who is not similar in appearance, God will much the less allow anyone in His kingdom who is not formed according to His beauty and sinlessness, or who is not as pure as the first man when God created him. [CR II: 476: 8-12]

These demands are revealed to man in the Law, which "is nothing but a revelation of His eternal will." [CR II: 481: 22-23] Certainly it is the Will of God that all men love Him and come to Him, but it is clear that man cannot come to God on his own. For the true source of righteousness is in God, not man. All things that man does without God's help suffers from the fact that man in himself is unrighteous and weak. Yet, the situation is not hopeless, because Christ compensates for man's weakness, makes him righteous, and then brings man to God. Consequently, man learns that salvation is only possible through the mercy of God. This is to say that man himself is not responsible for his salvation and can in no way find the means for salvation on his

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49. "Dise also lutren, reinen, unvermischten grechtigheit gottes sehend wir an sinem eignen wort." CR II: 475: 26-27.

50. "Also bringt got, der allein guot ist Marc. 10. [Mark 10: 18], uss sinem hertzen nuet denn guotes, an welchen sinem ussfliessenden gerechten unnd guoten wir den urspruenglichen brunnen erkennend." CR II: 475: 28-31.

own. He must first be righteous--and true righteousness originates only in God.[51] "Therefore, I hope," writes Zwingli, "that it is evident that anyone is wrong who wishes to come to God on the basis of his own works." [CR II: 483: 10-11]

Zwingli turns next to a discussion of the two kinds of law.

> One type of law manifests itself only to the inner man, indicating how one should love God and one's neighbors. No one can fulfill this law. No one is just, therefore, save God alone, and he who through grace, whose collateral is Christ, is made just through faith. [CR II: 484: 17-21]

The other type of law concerns only the external man and in and of itself alone has nothing to do with true piety or status before God. In fact, a man can be considered pious and yet be condemned before God.[52] An example of such a person would be a man who did not steal, thus living piously before men, but who still "possessed greater desire and temptations for alien goods than one who had stolen." [CR II: 484: 31-32] Such a man would not be considered guilty by men, but he would have a greater guilt before God. For "God only looks at the heart and does not judge man according to external

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51. "So ist uns ouch unmoeglich zuo got ze kummen. Dann kurtz so erfordret er soelche reinigheit und unschuld von uns. Aber dass Christus unsre presten ersetzt und unser fuerstender ist, das macht, das wir an got nit allein nit verzwyflend, sunder wir sehend, das all unser heil an siner erbaermbd stat, und erlernend an sinen worten, was er fuer ein schoen guot ist, wie rein, wie grecht, wie fromm." CR II: 481: 31-482: 6.

52. "Der ander teil der gesatzten sehen allein den usseren menschen an, und derohalb mag einer usserlich fromm und grecht sin, und ist innerhalb nuet des minder unfromm und vor got verdampt." CR II: 484: 22-24.

actions." [CR II: 485: 10-11] The right to judge a man according to divine righteousness, before which all men are guilty, is the prerogative of God alone.[53] The right to judge a man according to the demands of human righteousness falls to the government or magistracy.[54]

Human righteousness is not equal to divine righteousness. Compared to divine righteousness, human righteousness is poor and weak; for the latter righteousness cannot affect man's status before God.[55] Nevertheless, since man is responsible for giving his neighbor his due, God instituted the magistracy to oversee the world of human relations. "Therefore the judges and magistrates are servants of God; they are the school masters. Whoever is not obedient to their righteousness--be he a spiritual or secular person, also acts against God." [CR II: 488: 4-6] It is the responsibility of the magistracy to maintain a peaceful and orderly society wherein the Word of God is not hindered but can be proclaimed. "For it is therein that one learns what God demands of us, and with what grace He comes to help us." [CR II: 494: 11-13] Such preaching is not the responsibility of the magistrates, but of the pastors. Nor is the responsibility of

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53. CR II: 485: 17-20.

54. CR II: 485: 21-25.

55. "Sich, dise menschliche grechtigheit nenn ich ein arme, praesthaffte grechtigheit darumb, das einer wol vor den menschen grecht mag gschetzt werden, der doch vor got nit grecht ist; dann gheiner ist vor got grecht." CR II: 485: 26-29.

governing to be assumed by the preachers.[56]

Zwingli's sermon On Divine and Human Righteousness is one of the clearest statements of his reforming principles. He describes in it the true righteousness that can come only from God, and contrasts the divine righteousness with human righteousness which is powerless as far as making man worthy before God. Only that which comes from God is of final significance in determining man's relationship to God. No amount of external trappings can make man truly righteous. It must be pointed out that the false-true principle does not correspond to human and divine righteousness. Human righteousness is not synonymous with false religion. Rather, both human and divine righteousness, properly conceived, have to do with true religion--divine righteousness is its foundation, human righteousness its manifestation. However, it must be kept in mind that human righteousness has no power to make man acceptable to God. In conclusion, Zwingli's determination to bring about reform gradually in co-operation with a properly instructed magistracy, as peacefully as possible, is no less obvious. The sermon itself was written, preached, and published to insure that end.

### (3) Of the Education of Youth

Zwingli's short treatise, Of the Education of Youth, is dedicated to his step-son, Gerold Meyer von Knonau. It is one of

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56. "Die menschlich grechtikeit oder obergheit ist ghein andre weder der ordenlich gwalt, den wir den weltlichen gwalt nennend; denn der geistlich genennet gwalt hat sines gebiets deinen grund uss der goetlichen geschrifft." CR II: 497: 28-31.

Huldrych's better organized works, reflecting less of the haste and prolixity that mar his polemical writings. The treatise discloses Zwingli's reflections on a matter that was always important to him: education. He constantly gave education a prominent role in his reforming work, and in fact he was in the process of revising the school of the Grossmuenster as he wrote the treatise.[57] Zwingli the humanist educator is nowhere more clearly revealed than in this treatise, but, it is to be noted, always as the Christian humanist educator. Although the work is not primarily a theological treatise, Zwingli's concern for the development of the Christian youth necessarily led him into a discussion of the principles of true religion.

Zwingli begins by admitting that no amount of education can bring men to faith in God. "For that is something which only our heavenly Father can do as he draws us to himself." [CR II: 538: 18][58] In keeping with his false-true principle he leaves that most important of all processes to God. All man can and should try to do is "pray that he who can alone give faith will illuminate by his Spirit those whom we instruct in his Word." [CR II: 538: 22-24][59] It is the task of the Christian educator to teach the content of the Gospel, but he

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57. Zwingli's organization of the Grossmuenster school into a grammar school and a theological seminary was approved by the Council September 29, 1523. For a discussion of the educational goals of Zwingli, see Farner 3, pp. 396-407.

58. "Of the Education of Youth," LCC 24, p. 104.

59. Ibid.

should not delude himself into believing that he is himself responsible for the success of that Gospel.

Next, Zwingli once again begins his explication of the content of the Gospel with a statement about man.

> The young man whom we teach will know and understand the mystery of the Gospel as follows. First, he must know the original estate of man, how he transgressed the commandment of God and became a prey to death, how by his transgression he infected and corrupted his offspring--the whole human race--for the dead cannot give birth to the living. ... From this the young man will learn and acknowledge his own sickness. And he will see that sickness, too, when he realizes that everything that we do has its origin in frailty, lust and temptation. [CR II: 539: 27-31][60]

The place to begin is with the realization that all men are spiritually dead. It then follows that the individual must realize that this is a true statement about himself also. It is a desperate plight in which to find oneself; for "God requires of us a perfect righteousness, but we are corrupted and full of sin and whether we will or no we can do nothing but evil." [CR II: 540: 14-15][61] In itself this emphasis could lead man to despair, but Zwingli's intention is to have man recognize that he cannot of himself provide an adequate remedy for his situation. He will then cease trying to work his way into God's good favor. It is at this point that release is possible.[62]

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60. Ibid., p. 105.

61. Ibid., p. 106.

62. "And here it is that there breaks forth the light of the Gospel, the good news proclaimed to us that Christ releases us from the desperate plight in which we were held." CR II: 540: 16-17. Ibid.

The righteousness of Christ then makes man worthy before God. The initiative lies with God and it is He, not man, who can effect the needed salvation. "For blinded by human folly the mind cannot of itself attain to the deep counsel of divine grace." [CR II: 541: 20-21][63] Again it must be emphasized that this is a spiritual occurrence, dependent in no way on external trappings.

> In most things the human mind depends upon the external senses. But how can it come to put its confidence in something which none of the senses can perceive? In view of this, we can very well see that such faith and confidence in Christ can derive only from God. [CR II: 541: 33-35][64]

Zwingli then concludes his summary of the Gospel by pointing out that the necessary consequence of this experience of salvation was a spiritual experience, so was the Christian life best expressed in a manner that was befitting the Author of man's true righteousness. "For God is a Spirit, and he can be truly worshipped only with the sacrifice of a consecrated spirit." [CR II: 542: 11-12][65] With this emphasis on the truly spiritual nature of the Christian life, Zwingli ends the section of the treatise relative to the discussion here.

It is evident that the false-true principle is operative in this treatise as in the treatises more directly related to the progress of the Reformation. Whether Zwingli begins with a discussion about God

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63. Ibid., p. 107.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., p. 108.

or about man, the primary feature of the principle is that man does not have the true righteousness that will allow him to come before God unless it is the divine righteousness restored by Christ in mercy. All other attempts at righteousness, be they external acts of worship or merely observing the letter of the law, can only be understood as false and empty. In his treatise, Of the Education of Youth, Zwingli explicitly maintains the necessity of worshipping and honoring God in a spiritual rather than an external fashion. There need be no clearer statement of the nature of true religion.

### (4) On the Canon of the Mass

Although Zwingli had been openly calling for reform of worship for several months, little had been done in the way of instituting liturgical forms consistent with the Zwinglian understanding of true religion. On August 10, 1523, a significant event took place when the baptismal service was for the first time performed in the vernacular, i.e., in German.[66] Leo Jud, Zwingli's friend and pastor of St. Peter's Church in Zurich, had earlier published a small pamphlet

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66. "In der enderung der religion, und abthuon der missbruechen, was nitt das minst das uff Baepstische wys, in der kylchen, alle ding in Latinischer, dem gemeinen man unnerstaedigen, sprach gehandlet wurdent. Dorumm Zwingli sampt andern pfarreren, dem ernstlich nachtrachtetend, das dise sach, nach der Apostolischen leer, I. Corinth. 14, ouch wurde verbesseret. Und ward ein formm zuo touffen gestellt in Tuetscher sprach, und uff Laurentij den 10 Augusti, mit verwunderung und wol gefallen viler luethen, zum ersten toufft, zum Grossenmuenster. Und was das kind Ulrychen Aberbis. Die formm des toufss, one beschwerren, Saltz, guesel oder stoub, cruetzgen u. crisem, ist zue finden, in der kylchen ordnung der kylchen Zuerych." Bullinger I, p. 112.

during the summer entitled A Short and Common Form for Weak Believers for the Baptism of Children.[67] Farner suggests that one is justified in pointing to the publication of this work "as the first beginning of the liturgy of the reformed church."[68] Perhaps the most significant aspect of the event was that the service was performed in the language of the people--an important step in making worship a part of the every day life of the laity. About the same time, August 29, Zwingli published a tentative statement advocating liturgical renewal in his essay On the Canon of the Mass. It must be stressed that this was only a tentative statement. The final liturgical reform did not take place until Spring, 1525.[69] However, its appearance at this particular time is significant. The reception of the vernacular baptismal service encouraged Zwingli to test further the readiness of the people for liturgical reform. In addition, and more important, this treatise provided Zwingli with a vehicle for criticizing the very heart of Roman Catholic sacramental piety while properly instructing his followers in the nature of true prayer and worship.

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67. Farner 3, pp. 409-411, contains a brief summary and discussion of Jud's baptismal writing.

68. Farner 3, p. 410.

69. A brief though useful statement on the liturgical reform is J. V. Pollet, O. P., Huldrych Zwingli et la Réforme en Suisse, pp. 27-30. Also see the recent study, Fritz Schmidt-Clausing, Zwingli als Liturgiker. Also: Gottfried Locher, Im Geist und in der Wahrheit. A recent useful account in English, which gives attention to the liturgical reform in Zurich is Bard Thompson, "Ulrich Zwingli," Reformers in Profile, pp. 115-141.

In his essay On the Canon of the Mass Zwingli criticizes the Mass Canon from two perspectives.[70] First, in the spirit of Lorenzo Valla--who had applied humanistic tools to prove the spurious nature of the so-called Donation of Constantine--Zwingli subjected the language of the Canon to a rigorous scrutiny in order to prove that the Canon was not created in its entirety within one specific historical period. He proves by considering the Latin of the Canon that some portions were written later than others. In some instances he considers the construction of the language itself;[71] other places he criticizes on the basis of the vocabulary.[72] At first blush, Zwingli's use of such critical tools leads one to suppose that he is developing an argument against the Canon on the grounds of the common

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70. The Canon of the Mass, so called because, like a rule or measuring rod (canon), it is a fixed and unchanging standard, is the consecratory prayer, which contains the words of institution. For a historical survey of Catholic literature on the doctrine of the Mass, including the Canon, see J. A. Jungmann, S. J., The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development.

71. For example: "The Latin language is here sinned against in that two adjectives are applied without a connective to one substantive, "sancta sacrificia illibata." I do not find serious fault with this, if you look merely at the meaning, but this fault and like ones show that this Canon of ours is of more recent origin than some people declare. For before Gregory's time no one would ever have used the language in this way." CR II: 570: 11-16. The translation used here for this essay is that of Mr. Henry Preble and revised by the present author. The translation was originally done around 1900 for Samuel Jackson, but was never published. For this reason page references will not be given, but it should be understood that the present author, as redactor, is responsible for the translations, based on the work of Mr. Preble.

72. "Here, too, is a mark of the recent origin of the Canon, for the word "Papa" [Pope] was unknown to the men of old." CR II: 573: 16-17.

humanistic desire to return to the pristine purity of antiquity. If he could prove that the Mass Canon has changed since some earlier golden age, such as apostolic times, then he would be free to argue that the traditional prayers were not acceptable because they were not of primitive origin. However, he does not argue this point; the acceptability of the Canon is not questioned on the basis of the humanistic methodology, which Zwingli uses in the essay. In fact, the critical analysis of the Latin text is of secondary importance to Zwingli. He only wants to prove that "it is likely that this Canon which we now have is of too recent origin for any of the earlier prelates [such as Ambrose] to have made additions to it, and it is manifestly nothing but a collection of various prayers which men who were pious enough but not over-learned have put up publicly or privately." [CR II: 566: 4-9] If this be the case, then there is no reason to accept the Canon as something sacred that cannot be changed.[73] On the other hand, if there is a compelling reason for revising the prayers--or even for substituting new prayers in the place of the older ones--then Zwingli feels free to do so.

The second, and more important, perspective from which Zwingli criticizes the Mass Canon is theological. His humanistic critique freed him to make theology the basis of his acceptance or rejection of the prayers. He had proved that the Canon was not originally a

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73. "Why, then, cling to it with such superstitious tenacity?" CR II: 566: 10.

sacred entity, which could not be changed, and he is therefore justified in rejecting it on the basis of his false-true principle.[74] He does so by establishing--within the context of his understanding of the Gospel--that the traditional Canon is teeming with impieties. It is not enough to say that the prayers are often superstitious; they are actually an affront to God.[75] The Canon is predicated on an erroneous view of man's capacities. In making the Mass into a sacrifice it is assumed that man can sacrifice Christ. "How can it be that man should offer up God to God? Whoever sacrificed anything more precious than himself?" [CR II: 584: 18-19] It is impious to suggest that man is worthy of sacrificing Christ; it is to suggest that man has the capacity, on the basis of human merit, to accomplish his own salvation. This is clearly false; for man has no merit in himself.[76] Zwingli is blaming "the arrogance of man that thinks the divine work imperfect unless he has contributed something of his own to it." [CR II: 589: 15-17] This is the basic element of false

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74. "I have not moved the Canon from its place, but in place of that which we have thus far used I put another, well knowing how I shall be reviled in various places, some accusing me of effrontery, others of impiety. And they would not be wrong in doing so, if the previous Canon were free from fault, but since that was introduced into the churches not only with effrontery, but even with the utmost recklessness, and has first been proved guilty by me of impiety, it is not effrontery to abandon anything so erroneous, but manly courage, nor is it impiety to have thus routed impiety; it is true worship of God." CR II: 604: 15-22.

75. CR II: 599: 29-32.

76. CR II: 579: 1.

religion. Man ascribes to himself or to some creature what should belong only to God.[77]

The root of the error in man's ascribing such merits to himself is that he consequently ignores the true atonement. It is a denial of the very light of the Gospel, which is that

> God pitied this great poverty of ours, and seeing wretched mortals trying everything in vain, found a plan by which at the same time He might satisfy His righteousness, which had to be intact and inviolate, and we might be kindled to the most passionate love for Him in return. He sent a priest to appease the heavenly Divinity, and he by offering a victim most pure, since it had not been conceived in wickedness and had no corruption of the evil emotions with which we abound, easily made propitious sacrifice for the guilty. Thus the divine righteousness laid aside its wrath, and we unless hideously ungrateful, are drawn by this great goodness to us to love its author in return with neverceasing love. [CR II: 579: 3-12]

To assert that man has some part in the act of reconciliation is to deny the sole mediatorship of Christ; this is false religion. From this root grow many errors; the Canon is full of them. There are prayers to the saints instead of to Christ.[78] These proponents of false religion create the necessity of purgatory for their own profit--and without any foundation in the Scriptures.[79] In celebrating the sacrament they refuse to give both kinds to the people, which is

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77. "Is it not impious, pray, to credit the redemption of our souls to the oblation of the priest, when Christ solely and alone has accomplished that once for all?" CR II: 574: 10-12.

78. CR II: 576: 31-37.

79. CR II: 593: 25-594: 12.

clearly against the commands of Christ.[80] The purpose of the Canon is not really to direct worship toward God, but to increase the power of the ecclesiastics over the people.[81] Thus, the Mass Canon is predicated on false religion and leads to equally erroneous worship.

But Zwingli is not content merely to criticize the Canon. His use of the false-true principle leads him to set manifestations of true religion over against false religion. True religion appears all the clearer as it is set in contrast to false religion. Zwingli proposes a better alternative based on the Word of God.

> Having upset the Canon, it remains for me to furnish something better, and I am well aware how full of arrogance the promise to do so may seem to be, though only to those who are displeased by everything that is done with right understanding. I am not going to bring forward, therefore, anything which is not adapted to the norm of the divine word, and this I want understood as applying to the Canon I am going to offer. [CR II: 600: 7-11.]

Above all, "we should consider Christ only." [CR II: 601: 15-16] The prayers that are offered should savor of Christ, not man.[82] The Canon should be calculated to bring men to Christ; therefore, the Scriptures should be read in the vernacular. "And, if in the reading of either [the Gospel or the Epistle] anything occurs which is hard to understand, let them explain it in a few words suited to the occasion, till everything finally shall be given in the vernacular."

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80. CR II: 591: 26-27.

81. CR II: 573: 31-36; 597: 20-23.

82. CR II: 603: 9-10.

[CR II: 603: 20-22] Zwingli next offers his substitute canon, which is a series of prayers culminating in the celebration of the Eucharist--as a memorial or testament, not a sacrifice.[83]

The canon which Zwingli offers as a substitute for the traditional Roman Catholic Mass Canon is based on his understanding of the Gospel, especially in terms of the atoning work of Christ. He does not intend the prayers to be accepted without prior consideration, but he only asks that they be judged on the basis of the Word of God. He was attempting to rid worship of the superstitions and impieties contained in the Roman Catholic tradition. Consequently, he includes no prayers to saints, omits the doctrine of transubstantiation, and endeavors to limit the possibilities of taking money for prayers. His socio-political principle is seen to be operative in that he is offering this treatise as instruction for the people, so that they might not remain forever in their weakness. It is also evident in his insistence on the use of the vernacular so that the worship of God may in reality be intimately related to the laity--thus giving the privilege of understanding the worship to the people while taking it from the hands of the priests exclusively. As the work of Christ is for all people so is true religion likewise. In this essay On the Canon of the Mass, Zwingli has clearly moved beyond generalized

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83. Although Zwingli probably holds some notion of the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist at this time, he does clearly reject the doctrine of transubstantiation. CR II: 588: 22-28. The alternative canon, which Zwingli proposes, is contained in Appendix I. See pages 246-258.

statements about true religion and has offered explicit examples of true worship consistent with the sole mediatorship of Christ.

### C. The Second Zurich Disputation

Zwingli's efforts to bring about gradual reform of the church in Zurich were not without opposition. Zwingli found himself steering a middle course between the old believers who would not welcome change, and a growing group of radicals who advocated rapid change. Part of the genius of Zwingli's reform lies in that he was able to avoid the pitfalls of either extreme in his reform. On the basis of his socio-political principle he was able to lead his people carefully and, it should be added, on the whole peacefully--without denying the needed changes on the one hand or irresponsibly removing the abuses on the other. It is interesting to note that neither group of extremists were willing, as was Zwingli, fully to accept the role of the magistracy in determining the shape of Christian society in Zurich.

Zwingli's radical opponents, whose opposition to the tithes had prompted the sermon On Divine and Human Righteousness, next directed their attention to the question of the Mass and the images.[84] The smouldering discontent burst into open flames in September with the

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84. "Dises jars und nach der ersten disputation Zuerych gehallten, erhuob sich vil gezengcks under dem volck, insonders von dem diewyl die mess kein oppffer were, wie sich in der warheit funde, worumm man dann mess hielte? und worumm man die Mess nit abthaete? die andern woltend die mess behallten. So erhuob sich ouch ein grosser span, von waegen der Bildern, da ouch ettliche sy schirmptend, die andern verwurffend." Bullinger I, pp. 126-127.

publication of Ludwig Haetzer's pamphlet, The Judgment of God Our Spouse as to How One Should Conduct Oneself toward All Idols and Images.[85] G. H. Williams summarizes the content of the book thus:

> (1) that God's commandment on idolatry was no less binding than the other nine; (2) that the pilgrimages to shrines was a clear indication that the images were in fact idols, since the saints, to say nothing of God himself, can be approached directly; (3) that far from being books for the illiterate, they have become substitutes for the Book; and (4) that instead of inducing worshipers to reverence and improvement, they in fact distract them from the Heavenly Father, who alone draws men unto him.[86]

The effect of the little book was felt immediately.[87] Beginning with

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85. Ludwig Haetzer was born in nearby Thurgau about 1500 and educated at Basel. He came to Zurich from Waedenswil where he had been chaplain. Like Zwingli, Haetzer was educated in humanistic disciplines and is known to have had good command of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. He was elected secretary of the Second Zurich Disputation, probably because of his publication on the images. Haetzer later turned to translating the Prophets with Hans Denck and entertained anti-Trinitarianism. He was executed in Constance on the charge of adultry, February 4, 1529. For a brief discussion of Haetzer's life and work, with bibliographical suggestions, see G. H. Williams, The Radical Reformation, pp. 80, 91-92, 192-193. For a translation and analysis of Haetzer's pamphlet, see Charles Garside, Jr., "Ludwig Haetzer's Pamphlet Against Images: A Critical Study," Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. 34, (1961), pp. 20-36.

86. G. H. Williams, The Radical Reformation, p. 92.

87. "Anno 1523, in september, hat Ludowicus Haetzer, ein priester, von Bischoffszell buertig und wonhafft zuo Zuerich ein bueechlin lassenn ussgon wider die bilder, darin er allenthalb uss der bibli die geschrifft anzeugt, wie man sy nit haben noch under den christen lyden, sonder abthon und ussruetten solte. Disse leer wass in vilen menschen noch gar grusam ze horen. Dennocht wurdend ettlich leyen, namlich eyner von Zuerich, hiess Hottinger, sampt andern bewegt ... ein hoch, uffgericht crucifix nebend der strasssen in eynem garten ... ussgruobend und umwurffent." Johannes Stumpf, Reformationschronik, p. 182

the destruction of a prominent crucifix at Stodelhoffen by Claus Hottinger, outbreaks of iconoclasm spread rapidly.[88] Zwingli and Leo Jud were also preaching against the honoring of images. The situation threatened to get out of hand. In response to the crisis the Council "called for another debate or disputation wherein it would be determined as to whether images and the mass were allowed or prohibited by God."[89]

The Second Zurich Disputation met October 26-28 to discuss the questions of the Mass and the images.[90] The importance of the Disputation is that it "was an attempt to head off the zealots and to find a way to continue the purification of the church without endangering the security of the city."[91] The significance for the present study is that the nature of the Zwinglian Reformation was at stake.

In the first place the essential religious content of the Zurich Reformation was a primary issue. The discussion on the mass and the use of images was a discussion on the nature of true worship. The proposed reform would be of major consequence in the church, since it would quite obviously affect all aspects of Christian worship in

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88. Bullinger I, p. 127.

89. Ibid., p. 128. Bullinger also gives the complete text of the mandate issued by the Council in calling the Disputation. Ibid., pp. 128-129.

90. The records of the debate were kept by Haetzer. His account was approved by the Council and is found in CR II: 671-803. A useful treatment in English of the Disputation drawn from the approved records is Charles Garside, Jr. Zwingli and the Arts, pp. 129-145.

91. Robert C. Walton, Zwingli's Theocracy, p. 198.

Zurich. Thus, at the beginning of the Disputation Burgermeister Roeust announced that the purpose of the debate was to ascertain whether or not the Mass and the use of the images were consistent with the Word of God.[92] By affirming the Scriptural principle, the participants were joining Zwingli's efforts to establish true religion. The concluding remarks of Conrad Schmid at the close of the Disputation show that a general consensus was reached. There was no Scriptural basis for the sacrifice of the Mass nor for the images.[93] Thus the Scriptural judgments were accepted and the reform of the Zurich church was generally approved--at least in principle.

A second issue concerning the reformation of the church was how the reform should be carried out, and who would grant the necessary authority. There was little doubt as to the answer to these questions. It was assumed in the invitation to the Disputation, for the Council called for debate in order to decide what action to take. Nor was Zwingli uncertain as to the answer. Walton's summary of Zwingli's position is correct:

> He left no question that the purpose of the assembly was to advise the magistrates. It was convened before them and once it had clarified the meaning of the scripture, the representatives at the gathering would advise the councillors about their conclusions. He obviously believed that the Council, acting as delegates of a Christian people, would then decide how to bring present practice into conformity with the requirements of the Word.[94]

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92. CR II: 676: 19-24.

93. CR II: 793: 20-24.

94. Robert C. Walton, Zwingli's Theocracy, pp. 184-185. Walton clearly proves that Zwingli was consistent in his delegation of the authority for effecting reform to the Council.

Zwingli's reliance on the Council for bringing about reform was consistent with his theological position, particularly as explicated in his sermon On Divine and Human Righteousness. It was the responsibility of the magistracy to govern society in keeping with the demands of the Word of God. It should be added, too, that Zwingli was a realist. He was aware that too rapid a change could create an uproar that might cost the reform movement its promised victory. It is to be remembered that Zwingli was optimistic regarding the power of the Word of God to bring about the acceptance of the Gospel. Zwingli's false-true principle would not permit him to hinder the effective breaking through of the Gospel in its own terms.

## D. Conclusion

In retrospect, it can be said that during the first ten months of 1523 the Reformation came to Zurich. Zwingli and his views received the official endorsement of the Zurich Magistracy in the First and Second Disputation. Zwingli also had opportunity to make his views known through several publications of note wherein many prominent themes emerged to provide a theological basis for the developing Reformation. Fundamental to the writings of 1523 was the assertion of scriptural over against ecclesiastical authority. In addition, Zwingli addressed himself to the question of the true content of the Gospel. In doing so he contrasted the divine righteousness, which can be satisfied by the saving work of Christ alone, with weak human attempts to merit salvation. He likewise criticized

manifestations of false worship and advocated the establishment of cultic practices congruent with his understanding of the Gospel. Although the Reformation was proceeding gradually, for some the progress was too slow and too intimately tied to the actions of the magistracy. Thus, he justified the role of the government in maintaining human righteousness--which was not to be confused with the saving righteousness of Christ. Consequently, in keeping with his false-true principle a re-examination of the current practices led to the first evidences of removing the abuses in the churches; in keeping with his socio-political principle the reform was being carried out in a deliberate manner, even in the face of radical challenges to that deliberateness. In general, it appears that Zwingli was satisfied that both divine and human righteousness was truly being established in Zurich. Nevertheless, the Reformation had only begun; its success was not yet assured. The period which culminated in the Second Disputation was a period of transition. The stage had been set for the final victory and accomplishment of the Reformation.

# CHAPTER IV

## VICTORY OF REFORMED CHURCH IN ZURICH

## NOVEMBER, 1523 - JUNE, 1524

The final reform of the Zurich Church, which appeared imminent at the close of the Second Zurich Disputation was not carried out until June, 1524. The Council was not prepared to take final action until both the people of Zurich and the other members of the Confederacy had been thoroughly instructed as to the purpose of the reform and were given the opportunity to respond. It was to meet this need that the Council authorized Zwingli to write the Short Christian Instruction, which served as a catechism and a confession of faith for the intended reform. The time of waiting came to a close in June with the final decision of the Council explicitly to reform the churches by removing all images. This decision by the Council signaled the victory of the Reformation in Zurich.

### A. Publication of the Short Christian Instruction

The Second Zurich Disputation had concluded that there was no Scriptural basis for understanding the Mass as a sacrifice or for maintaining images in the churches. Having assumed responsibility for modification in accordance with the Word of God, the Council

nonetheless did not immediately institute the called-for changes. Instead the Council appointed a committee, including the influential Zurich preachers Zwingli, Jud and Engelhart, to study the situation and report back to the Council their conclusions regarding the reform.[1] Zwingli told Vadian that next "it was unanimously decided that I write a brief introduction which will induce those pastors who to this point have remained ignorant or have opposed Christ, to begin to preach Christ." [CR VIII: 129: 9-130: 3]

It is clear that the Council wished to see unanimity of preaching in the Canton in accordance with the Word of God. Johann Stumpf noted the Council's efforts to bring about such unanimity:

> Meanwhile the pastors in the Zurich countryside were not of one mind in doctrine; also some did not receive happily the restoration of evangelical truth and apostolic doctrine. Therefore, so that a uniform teaching might be reported to all the churches regarding images and the mass, and that the basis of such things be planted among the people, the honorable Council of the City of Zurich conferred together with the scholars, heard an instruction read and ordered the publication of the same. A copy was sent to each pastor with the order and command that they lead and instruct the common people according to the contents of the same.[2]

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1. Zwingli reported this action to Vadian in a letter dated November 11, 1523. "Selegit senatus de suo ordine quatuor, de civium (ut vocant) ordine quatuor, ut cum abbate de Capella [Wolfgang Joner], praeposito Imbriacensi [Heinrich Brennwald], comendatario ex Kuesnaco [Konrad Schmid], doctori Engelhart, Leone [Jud], Zuinglio consultent, quonam pacto commode possit iniri ratio, ut Christi negocium feliciter promoveat." CR VIII: 129: 5-9.

2. Johann Stumpf, Reformationschronik, p. 186.

Bullinger remarked that the council, recognizing the lack of unity in the matter of preaching the Word of God, "authorized a short account as to how one might easily and simply preach the truth to the churches."[3] There were two avenues open to the Council in its bringing about the unity of preaching. The first avenue to be tried was that of educating the pastors and people. It was this desire which led the Council to authorize Zwingli's Short Christian Instruction.[4] The second path open to the Council was that of enforced unanimity by governmental decree. Recognizing the necessity of this approach also, the Council issued a mandate with the Instruction, thus making the treatise an official statement of faith for Zurich.[5] Zwingli, having read the Instruction to the Council on November 9, published it November 17.

The renewal of the church in Zurich was carried out on the basis of the evangelical theology explicated in Zwingli's Short Christian Instruction. Basically, that theology contained two major emphases. First, man suffers from the weakness of sin, both from inheritance and

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3. Bullinger I, p. 135.

4. CR II: 626-663. Part Two of the present work is an annotated English translation of the Instruction.

5. CR II: 628-629. See especially 629: 5-11: "Dann ie unser meynung ist, das uewer leer mit dem euangelion in unsern gebieten allenthalb dahyn ernstlich reiche und einhellig sye. Ob aber under uech iemants waere, der suemmig oder widerwertig sin woelte, und das on grund der heyligen goetlichen und euangelischer gschrifft handlete, wurden wir wider dieselben dermassen uns erzeugen, darmit sy befunden, unrecht und wider die leer Christi gethon haben."

from yielding to temptations; therefore, he cannot come to God on his own. Secondly, man's access to God is provided by the grace of God in Christ Jesus, man's only mediator. Furthermore, this work of grace has already been accomplished, without the help or co-operation of man. The reformation in Zurich was based essentially on these principles.

The Instruction also contains a criticism of current church practices. Given his scriptural understanding of man's moral impotence and the nature of Christ's redeeming activity, Zwingli concludes that images and the sacrifice of the mass should be prohibited. Man's use of images as well as his making the Mass a sacrifice are attempts to merit God's favor. Such human attempts at righteousness are doomed to failure, for only the righteousness of God is effective for man's salvation. These practices must therefore be abolished, for they are not consistent with the divine activity. In short, these practices are evidences of false religion offered in lieu of true belief.

The significance of the Short Christian Instruction lies not only in the theological statements and criticisms it contains. The announced role of the treatise as an educational resource and as an official statement of faith by the Zurich Council is also important. In the first place the treatise was to be used by the pastors both for their own edification and for instructing their parishioners in the content of true doctrine. The desire for unanimity has already been pointed out. It should be emphasized that for Zwingli the

preferable means of achieving this oneness of spirit was through education. It was at this point that Zwingli broadened the base of his educational efforts as learned from Erasmus.[6] For Zwingli sent his Instruction to all the pastors to use in educating all the people.[7] Potter correctly assesses the genius in Zwingli's approach by pointing out that

> Zwingli kept his feet firmly on the ground; he was content to advance slowly, to consolidate one position before attacking the next, to keep ahead of, but not too far ahead of, the public opinion of the city, to make each step appear the inevitable result of the former, and his opponents as ignorant and unpatriotic.[8]

This show of patience and faith in education was not without its opposition among the radical elements, but Zwingli was not to be denied. It has been frequently suggested throughout this study that Zwingli's religious thought did not exist merely as an end in itself. Rather, his theological interest in the establishment of true religion was motivated by concern for the Swiss Christian.

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6. See above, pp. 24-25.

7. Farner makes a similar observation: "Zwingli's 'Kurze und christliche Einleitung', die schon am 17, November 1523 die Druckerei verliess und alsogleich ihren Weg in saemtliche Pfarrhaeuser fand, war in ansprechender und leichtverstaendlicher Form einerseits eine Predigthilfe fuer Praedikanten, anderseits aber auch eine Art Katechismus, aus dem aufmerksam lesende Laien Vertiefung hier Glaubenserkenntnis schoepfen sollten." Farner 3, p. 455.

8. G. R. Potter, Switzerland, p. 150.

In addition, the Instruction also was granted a place of broader import than that of a private statement of theological principles. Baur points out that the Council's acceptance of the treatise made the writing an official confession of the City Council, thus giving the Instruction a greater status than even the Sixty-seven Articles.

> The writing had a two-fold purpose: first, to serve as an instruction toward proper spirituality. Next, to orient the circle outside Zurich which had either a friendly or hostile interest in the movement as to what was done and taught in Zurich. Thus, the Instruction was a public confessional statement of the Zurich Reformation and Church of the first order--and in the full sense of the word. Even more so than the Sixty-seven Articles which, although they expressed the definite principles of the movement and were constructed definitely for public use and purpose, were only a private work of Zwingli's.[9]

In his recent book, Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century, Arthur Cochrane recognized the adoption of the Instruction by the Council, but did not include it among the confessions in his collection "because it never acquired ecclesiastical recognition."[10] He does grant, however, that "it possesses semisymbolical character."[11] On the other hand the Instruction has been included in the two standard collections of Reformed Confessions: Boeckel's 1846 collection, Die

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9. August Baur, Zwinglis Theologie. Ihr Werden und Ihr System, Vol. I, p. 344.

10. Arthur C. Cochrane, Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century, p. 27. Cochrane also excluded the Instruction "because of its length." p. 27. The significance of the Instruction, of course, lies not in that it received any ecclesiastical recognition, but that it received magisterial acceptance.

11. Ibid.

Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche, and Mueller's 1903 anthology, Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche.[12] The Instruction was a confessional statement of the reform movement in Zurich. The integral role, which the Council played in the Reformation, further leads to the conclusion that the Instruction was indeed a recognized manifesto of faith. Indeed, the importance of this particular document increases when one realizes that it was the first such confessional statement for all of Zurich.

In summary, the Short Christian Instruction of November, 1523 was an official statement of the Zurich Reformation. Written by Zwingli and accepted for Zurich as a whole by the Zurich City Council, the treatise was a theological statement containing the principles of the reform movement. The treatise also played a specific role in the Reformation by serving as a source book for instruction within Zurich and a Confession of Faith to the Confederacy at large.

## B. A Theology for the Zurich Reformation: The Short Christian Instruction

The Short Christian Instruction is primarily a theological treatise--a systematic presentation of the theology of the Zurich Reformation. Since the treatise was issued as a confession of faith

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12. Ernst Gottfried Adolf Boeckel, Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche, pp. 12-34. E. F. Karl Mueller, Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche, pp. 7-29. Boeckel's edition contains a New High German rendition of the Instruction. Mueller retains Zwingli's Early New High German.

by the Zurich Council and was intended as a source book of evangelical theology to be used in instructing the people of Zurich in the foundation and practices of true religion, Zwingli concisely brought together his understanding of the Gospel and its implications for Zurich. The Instruction was a culmination of the events leading to Reformation. Thus Zwingli laid down the basic principles of his theology in the Instruction. The foundation of the Zwinglian theology lies in his acceptance of the authority of the Scriptures and in the hermeneutical principles he employed in interpreting them. Zwingli built his confessional theology on this foundation. The content of his theological confession was marked by two concerns: the relationship of man to God, and the relationships of men to men. Zwingli grounded his practical theology, of which his reforming work was an expression, on the foundation of his confessional theology, which itself matured in the context of, and interplay with, his reformatory activity in Zurich. A study of the Short Christian Instruction, therefore, will reveal the nature of the Zurich Reformation.

(1) The Authority and Interpretation of Scripture

The goal for which Zwingli was striving throughout his writings was the establishment of scriptural Christianity. True religion was biblical religion. Thus it is to be expected that biblical authority plays a primary role in the writing of the Short Christian Instruction. In the mandate which the City Council issued with the treatise the scriptural norm occupies a prominent place.

> As you perceived and understood in the last mandate we sent you, we promised to put into print as soon as possible a short instruction drawn from the Sacred Scriptures. On our order such a work has been prepared. We have listened to a reading of it and, in our opinion, it is solidly based on the divine, evangelical writings of the New and Old Testaments. [628: 14-20][13]

The Criterion by which the Council claims to judge the writing was its reliance on the Holy Scriptures. Likewise, in the initial sentence of the Instruction Zwingli indicates that the principle of biblical authority evident in his earlier writings is still operative.

> First, since anyone may well observe that the controversies today arise solely out of some misunderstandings, and since all human strivings are in vain, may God enlighten and draw men inwardly, so that each Christian man may pray both individually and in his community, calling anxiously upon God to let the light of his Word shine forth and draw us poor ignorant ones by His grace, so that we may learn to know Him truly. [630: 2-8]

Here Zwingli establishes the necessity of an authority beyond man himself. It is not within the power of man to solve the misunderstandings or to bring about true knowledge of God. In short, human understanding does not have the capacity in itself authoritatively to determine whether or not particular religious practices are manifestations of true religion. In order to make authoritative judgments man must have an objective authority that is not dependent upon his own adjudication. For that reliable standard the Christian must turn to the Bible.

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13. Citations will refer to CR II unless otherwise stated.

There are two elements of Zwingli's treatment of the place of the Scriptures. First, they are the only true source for determining what is true religion. The predilection for returning to the classical sources of antiquity, which is characteristic of the humanists, finds a theological expression in the return of Zwingli to the one authoritative source of Christian antiquity, the Holy Scriptures. Second, the proper interpretation of Scripture depends on the illumination of human understanding by the Holy Spirit. These two premises, the acceptance of biblical authority and the illuminating work of the Holy Spirit, are the two major aspects of Zwingli's biblical hermeneutic as contained in the Short Christian Instruction.

Zwingli's acceptance of the authority of Scripture in the Instruction builds on his earlier treatises--rather than establishing biblical authority anew. In his sermon Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God he had asserted the authority of the Word of God on the basis of the power inherent in God himself in contrast to the weakness of man, which prevents man's either willing good or knowing God.[14] In the Exposition ... of the Conclusions Zwingli primarily asserted the authority of the Scriptures as over against the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.[15] In his sermon Of Divine and Human Righteousness, Zwingli maintained the premise that the righteousness of God is revealed only in the Word of God, thereby

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14. See above, pp. 71-76.

15. See above, pp. 93-94.

revealing the true source of righteousness as God--not man.[16] On the basis of these conclusions the authority of Scripture is hardly an issue in the Short Christian Instruction; rather, it is assumed.

Nevertheless, the acceptance of God's Word is primary consideration for Zwingli in the Instruction. "For, in short: if Almighty God revealed His Word, then man must see that he complies with it, or he will invite the wrath of God on himself." [663: 20-22] However, Zwingli does not merely advocate blind acceptance of biblical authority without indicating some reason for that authority. The authority of Scripture lies in its intimate relation to the Gospel, that is, in its message. Zwingli writes that man should not "let himself be led into error so as to seek grace from anyone but God Himself. For this reason we have the clear Word of God." [646: 6-8] Biblical authority is based on the assertion that it is only in the Scriptures that man can learn of the grace of God manifested in the redemptive work of Christ. The sole mediatorship of Christ is the touchstone for establishing the authority of the Word of God; for all those who teach that there is another mediator "falsify to Him His Word, and drive away the believing hearts from our merciful God and Father." [645: 31-646: 1] The Bible has authority because it contains the authoritative message of salvation by Christ alone. "We see this gracious activity thoroughly recorded in the Word of God, namely, that we are saved not by our works but by the clear grace of God

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16. See above, p. 103.

through the redeeming work of the Lord Jesus Christ." [639: 20-22] It is authoritative because knowledge of this salvation is not available to man apart from the Word of God.

The Scriptures are the only authority for the knowledge of true religion. Zwingli's reliance on the Spirit of God to enlighten man is part and parcel of his understanding of true religion. For purposes of clarity it should be said that Zwingli is not addressing himself to the practical problem of exegetical method. He is not concerned with developing guidelines to be used in interpreting particular passages of Scripture. Rather he is making a statement about the necessity incumbent upon men to turn from themselves to the grace of God. Zwingli describes man who lives in God--man who is saved from the Law of sin and death--as one who lives in the Law of the living Spirit. "What is the Law of the living Spirit? Answer: The leading and instructing God offers out of a true understanding of His Word if we have trusted in Him. ... We may learn this from no one but God." [649: 19-22] There is an intimate relationship between a true understanding of God's Word and true religion. It is for this reason that Zwingli emphasizes time and again the importance of such understanding. Man cannot, however, do anything to obtain it. He can only receive it by the grace of God working in the hearts of men through the agency of the Holy Spirit.

> Consider, then, how the Divine Wisdom decided on a wise means of salvation so wonderful that it is neither conceivable nor credible to the human intellect. May God enlighten the human understanding and take to Him man's heart and make it full of faith. [637: 14-17]

Essential to Zwingli's notion of the Gospel was the need for the enlightenment of the human understanding by God. It is a recurring theme that man cannot on his own come to certain knowledge of the Word of God. He can, however, obtain right comprehension in faith by the enlightenment of the Spirit of God. It should be emphasized that the Word of God is authoritative whether or not it is appropriated by men in practice; for, after all, the Word does not depend in any way on man for its authority. Nevertheless, although the Word of God possesses objective authority, it depends on the work of the Holy Spirit to make it personally authoritative for the Christian. It is the task of the Holy Spirit to apply the living word to man through the Bible. It is a Word, which, although closely related to, is not necessarily identical with the Scripture.[17] Zwingli is not precise in his statement of the agent of elucidation, but whether he speaks of God, or the Divine Wisdom, or the Spirit of God, his concern is to indicate that the necessary illumination begins with God and is made available to men of faith.

It is clear that Zwingli does not allow himself to justify his right to interpret Scripture on the basis of his own or any other man's ability to determine the meaning of God's Word. For Zwingli it is a question of where one is placing his trust and confidence--in God or man--which is to make the hermeneutical question a matter of true or false religion. First and foremost, it is not a question as to what

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17. See above, p. 63.

the right interpretation of the Word of God is, but where one looks for it. If a man truly calls upon God he is assured of understanding the Word of God. In the initial paragraph of the Instruction, immediately after asserting the necessity of praying to God for inward enlightenment to settle the human misunderstandings at hand, he writes, "Such prayers of ours God will answer; for, in Matthew Chapter 18,[18] He has promised us that whatever we ask from Him He will give." [630: 11-13] It is this promise from God Himself that allows the Christian to be confident he will properly understand the true import of God's revelation. Zwingli is advocating a return to the Bible itself, if possible in its original form,[19] rather than relying on the traditional interpretations of the Roman Catholic Church, the decisions of the Councils, or even the commentaries of the Fathers. It is worth noting that in Zwingli's early theological writings there is a conspicuous lack of references to the Fathers. Although Zwingli certainly stands in the Augustinian tradition, he much prefers to quote the Apostle Paul instead of the Bishop of Hippo. It is quite clear to Zwingli that he is turning to an objective authority based on the divine prom-

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18. Matthew 18: 19. Zwingli also refers to Luke: 33: "So ir, die boess sind, guote gaben ueweren kinden koennend geben, wie vil me wuert uewer himelscher vatter ein heligen oder frommen geyst deben denen, die inn anrueffend." 630: 14-16. He concludes the argument by citing James 1: 5ff.: "Ob uewer einer syssheit manglet, so begere die von got; der gibt allen menschen luter und einvaltigklich one uffheben, so wirt sy im ggeben. Er sol aber im glouben oder vertruwen begeren, nuets zwyflende etc." 630: 17-20.

19. "Let the Evangelical Scriptures declared therein be thoroughly and diligently reflected on in their original form." 628: 25-27.

ise and interpreted by the divine Spirit. To do so is to find one's self freed from the authority of the Church in which it is false to trust.

It is obvious that Zwingli's biblical hermeneutic is of a personal nature, thus leaving him open to the charge of subjectivism. How could Zwingli be sure that he was not merely reading his own pre-conceived notions into the Scriptures? Did he really think that God was giving him the conclusions he reached, and that he had not removed all hopes of unanimity by allowing every individual the right to claim inspiration from God?

Zwingli was not unaware of the possibility that he would be charged with the very offense of which he was blaming others. He had raised the question himself in his sermon Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God.[20] Zwingli's personal assurance that God and not he had been the source of his interpretations is striking:

> The most learned men are fallible except in so far as they are led by God. ... I know for certain that God teaches me, because I have experienced the fact of it: and to prevent misunderstanding this is what I mean when I say that I know for certain that God teaches me. When I was younger, I gave myself overmuch to human teaching, like others of my day, and when about seven or eight years ago [1515 or 1516] I undertook to devote myself entirely to the Scriptures I was always prevented by philosophy and theology. But eventually I came to the point where led by the Word and Spirit of God I saw the need to set aside all these things and to learn the doctrine of God direct from his own Word. Then I began to ask God for light and the Scriptures became far clearer to me--even though I read nothing else--than if I had studied many commentators and

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20. See the discussion above, Chapter Two, pp. 71-73.

> expositors. Note that that is always a sure sign of God's leading, for I could never have reached that point by my own feeble understanding. You may see then that my interpretation does not derive from the over-estimation of myself but the subjection. [CR I: 378: 30-32; 379: 18-380: 1][21]

Yet although he obviously bases the justification for his principle of interpretation on his own evangelical experience, it is an experience of an objective authority which, even as it affects the subject, man, is not dependent upon man for its power and clarity.

As to the question of unanimity, it is not a problem for Zwingli. He sees nothing incredible in trusting the Holy Spirit to provide the right interpretation of Scripture. He is primarily concerned with the problem of falsely relying on external or standard authority for interpretation. He is removing the exclusive privilege of interpreting the Scriptures from the hands of the cloisters and the Church enslaved by traditions, returning the right of interpretation to the responsible man of faith who relies on the Spirit of God. Zwingli believed that only this right turning to God could issue in true religion. It is this understanding that leads him to accuse the Roman clergy of turning the people away from the true worship of God:

> We should be taught solely by the Word of God. Instead, the idle priests, who should have taught us unceasingly, have painted the teachings on the walls for us. And we poor simple people have therewith been deprived of the teachings and have fallen before the images, and have honored them, We have begun to seek from creatures what we should have sought only from God. The priests should often have taught us but they omitted teaching and held

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21. LCC 24, pp. 90-91. Underlining added.

> the Mass frequently instead. As a result, not only we simple ones have not understood, but also the greater part of them have understood even less, until it has come to the point that by far the majority of Christian men have not known the vital points concerning the salvation of man. Indeed, with their fables of the saints, some have contemptibly turned us from the True God to the creature. [656: 15-27]

For Zwingli, the importance of his biblical hermeneutic was not that it would lead to various disagreements over correct interpretation, but that the individual Christian would be able to come directly to God. In short, it would insure the practice of true religion and worship.

Furthermore, if Zwingli had worried about establishing external norms as necessarily prior to interpreting God's Word, he would himself be guilty of turning away from God to the creature. He is content to leave the fashioning of interpretive unanimity to the self-authenticating Spirit of God.[22] It is a far more certain path to truth than relying on the human inventions of the Roman Catholic Church. There is no surer method of finding the authoritative interpretations of God's Word than trusting the Author of His Word to reveal the right meaning.

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22. Zwingli does not explicitly employ the terminology of self-authentication in the Instruction, although he certainly implies the concept. For Calvin's discussion of the self-authenticating nature of Scripture as attained by the testimony of the Spirit, see Calvin's Institutes. I. vii. 5. Of course Zwingli was only theoretically content to leave the production of unanimity to the Spirit. He was certain in his own mind whoever truly trusted God would receive the proper interpretation. As for those who proclaimed another meaning, they were obviously not truly waiting on God. Zwingli relegated the handling of such disagreements to the City Council. For example, see the closing lines of the Instruction, 663: 16-20.

In summary, the starting point of Zwingli's theology is found in his return to the Bible as the authoritative source of True Religion. There one may encounter in faith the Word of God which is interpreted for man by the Spirit of God enlightening human understanding. As a result Zwingli internalized the norms of biblical interpretation, thus freeing individual men to obtain the proper understanding of Scripture without the approbation of the Roman Church or other traditional authorities. The foundation of this biblical hermeneutic was Zwingli's personal experience of the Gospel as fundamentally spiritual in content and nature. The next step to be taken in the investigation of the theology of the Short Christian Instruction is to determine the shape of the confessional theology that was grounded in Zwingli's biblical hermeneutic.

(2) The Confessional Theology of the Instruction

The theology of the Short Christian Instruction is confessional theology. It is based on Zwingli's search for scriptural Christianity, which, as has been pointed out, was grounded in his personal experience of the grace of God. The import of his biblical hermeneutic was not merely that it assured certain knowledge of God, but that "as we know Him ... [we] acquire true love and ... order all our actions out of love to Him according to His pleasure--after this time eternally to receive, enjoy, and possess Him." [630: 8-11] The predication of the scriptural norm is also part of the theology of confession in that it is inextricably linked with the message of the Gospel. It must be

kept in mind, however, that biblical authority, although a prior consideration, is not the primary content of the Gospel message. It is not only the Scriptures themselves that are important, but what the Holy Spirit reveals through them. It is this message Zwingli is outlining in the Short Christian Instruction.

It is confessional theology, as opposed to theoretical or scholastic theology, in that it is an explication of Zwingli's understanding of God's gracious redemptive activity in Jesus Christ--His Son, man's Savior. This assessment of the theological nature of the document is underscored, for example, in the fact that Zwingli does not present a developed Christology.[23] His concern is developed in terms of the work of Christ rather than the nature of Christ's person. Two major thrusts of Zwingli's theology of confession, as contained in the Short Christian Instruction, may be summarized thus: first, whatever is lacking in man Christ graciously obtains for him

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23. Nor does Zwingli present a developed theology or ecclesiology in the standard sense. The Instruction does present a systematic soteriology. Zwingli's first systematic theology, published in March, 1525, was De vera et falsa religione commentarius. CR III: 590-912. Tr.: "Commentary on True and False Religion," Jackson, Works of Zwingli, Vol. III, pp. 43-343. The development of Zwingli's Christology is an example of the influence doctrinal controversies and practical reform of the worship life of the church exercised in the formulation of the Reformer's thought. It was not until the Eucharistic controversy that Zwingli was forced to explicate more fully his understanding of the nature of Christ. It is this interplay of theological maturation and reformatory activity that Zwingli develops his theological position on the person of Jesus Christ: his emphasis on the discreteness of the two natures, the concept of "alloiosis," revelation of God outside the event of Jesus Christ. See "On the Lord's Supper," LCC 24, pp. 212-215. CR IV: 827: 17-830: 24. Also: "An Exposition of the Faith," LCC 24, pp. 251-253. Schuler and Schulthess, Huldrici Zuinglii Opera, Vol. IV, pp. 48-50. Also see Amica Exegesis, CR V: 570ff.

before God, and second, it is the responsibility of each Christian to give every man his due. For Zwingli these are the chief lineaments of True Religion.

The first premise of the treatise--whatever is lacking in man Christ graciously obtains for him before God--is Zwingli's statement of the biblical message of salvation by God's grace. It is a summary of his understanding of the relationship between God and man. In the Instruction Zwingli's discussion of this relationship begins with a consideration of anthropology, which exercises a pervasive influence throughout Zwingli's confessional statement. This does not mean that the doctrine of man is Zwingli's most important dogma. The cardinal tenet of Zwingli's theology is the doctrine of the atonement. Nevertheless, Zwingli's anthropology is a sine qua non for understanding the overriding structure of his confessional theology. Throughout his writings, but especially in the Instruction, Zwingli's focus on man informs his theological methodology. This is to say that Zwingli's method of ascertaining and developing other specific doctrines is in some sense grounded in his understanding of the nature of man.[24] If

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24. A similar point can be made in regard to Calvin's theology. For example, see his Institutes. I. i. 1. In this first section of the opening chapter Calvin begins with the assertion, "Nearly all the wisdom we possess, that is to say, true and sound wisdom, consists of two parts: the knowledge of God and of ourselves." LCC 20, p. 35. Immediately thereafter Calvin suggests the reason knowledge of self is an important methodological principle: "No one can look upon himself without immediately turning his thoughts to the contemplation of God." Ibid. One should qualify the application of this principle to Calvin by observing that he thought the knowledge of God should be treated first as demanded by "the order of right teaching." Institutes. I. i. 3. Tr.: LCC 20,

this is a true description of Zwingli's method of theologizing about his Christian experience, then a proper analysis of his confessional theology must proceed by delineating the principal arguments of the Instruction from the perspective of Zwingli's statements about man.

Zwingli begins the explication of his theology with a discussion of sin, which is followed by discussions of the Law, the Gospel and the abolition of the Law. The outline itself is significant and is based logically on Zwingli's anthropology. He writes:

> For anyone to know why he should mend his ways, it is necessary for him to recognize his guilt. Therefore it is essential in the first place to know the source of sin. After we find that, then may each man deem himself a sinner and trust himself to the mercy of God. [630: 29-34]

First, man must recognize himself as he truly is, a sinner, before he can understand the necessity of trusting the mercy of God. Zwingli next discusses the Law, which is the means of revealing to man that he cannot come to God on his own. Having determined the need of grace in man, Zwingli discusses the Gospel which is formulated in terms of God's meeting man's every need in Christ. Zwingli's understanding of man as still weak even after he has experienced salvation in Christ leads next to a lengthy discussion on the nature of the Christian life, which concludes with the section on the abolition of the Law. These four sections on sin, Law, Gospel and the abolition of the Law form the

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p. 39. For a comparative study of the knowledge of God and man in Zwingli, Calvin and Luther see Gerhard Ebeling, "Cognitio Dei et hominis," Geist und Geschichte der Reformation, pp. 271-322.

substance of Zwingli's confessional theology and are the foundation of the practical theology of the final sections on images and the Mass. Therefore, an analysis of the individual sections relating to Zwingli's theology of confession will provide the key to comprehending the nature of Zwingli's reforming activity.

It is first necessary to know the natural condition of man. Thus Zwingli points out that "from birth we are all sinners, for we are all born of Adam." [631: 3-4] Simply stated, man is a sinner because he is a descendant of Adam. All men have inherited a weakness from Adam that prevents their ever accomplishing anything good. It is this weakness and powerlessness for doing good to which Zwingli is referring when he speaks of man's living in the body or flesh. The man of the flesh or the body is spiritually dead, which means that he has suffered

> the loss of the grace and friendship of God, the loss of indwelling, ruling, or leading by the Spirit of God, the loss of the perfect order of human nature, and the fall into sin. That is, after the destruction of his nature Adam and all his descendants are incapable of doing anything good; for, they are weak. And what is called 'sin' here is nothing but the weakness of the Fall and the impotence of our flesh. ... This is the weakness that was born within me, the sinful Fall through which death came into us. [631: 17-26][25]

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25. Zwingli does not discuss the nature of man before the Fall in the Instruction, but it may be inferred from the description of what man lost in the Fall and cannot now possess since the Fall that the natural state of man, i.e., man as originally created by God, should be characterized by "the grace and friendship of God," as well as the "indwelling, ruling or leading by the Spirit of God." It is to this state that man is returned by the atonement of Christ. In Of the Education of Youth Zwingli addresses himself to this problem. See CR II: 539: 27ff, tr. LCC 24, p. 105ff. Nevertheless, Zwingli defined man in terms of Adam, not Christ, until the experience of grace.

The state of weakness and powerlessness, which characterizes man after the Fall is the result of the loss of the grace and favor of God. Rather than living a spiritual life, man is enslaved by the weakness of the body. Sinful man is non-spiritual man. Consequently, he continues to live in sin. "For, so long as we live in the body, hereditary weakness will bear evil fruit forever and ever." [633: 5-6] Hence there are two ways sin comes to man: first as inheritance, and second by choice. One is original, the other actual. The point Zwingli is making is that men

> are by nature all together the sons of Adam and stand on the side of transgression, and may by nature perform neither good nor reconciling deeds--either for ourselves or for another; for, we are all guilty. [632: 31-633: 2]

Since man can do nothing good he can only do that which is unpleasing to God. Man is selfish. He strives to obtain everything for himself rather than serve God or other men. Furthermore, the weakness of the flesh prevents his seeing that he is actually suffering from "a sickness which actually restrains us and is born in us: the Fall of Adam." [634: 10-11] Since man cannot even perceive his weakness on his own it then becomes necessary for God to reveal to man what his condition actually is. This leads Zwingli to a discussion of the Law.

In brief, "the Law is nothing but a revelation of the will of God." [634: 19] It is not the purpose of the Law to make man pious or good; "rather, it only points out how man should be if he wants to live according to the will of God, become pious, and come to God." [635: 1-3] Since man cannot know this in his natural state, it is necessary

for God to reveal it to man. Therefore, the Law can only come from God, not man, and since it points man to God the Law must be good. The problem for man, however, is not only that he cannot know the will of God unless God reveals it to him; man does not have the power to keep the Law once it is given to him. Zwingli has used his anthropology to this point to portray the nature of man in terms of weakness and powerlessness for doing good. He has described the weakness as such that man cannot even know by himself that he is weak. The awareness of man's inherent weakness is essential to true religion; for the proponents of false religion--since they do not recognize their powerlessness for doing good--have confidence in the power of their own reason for achieving righteousness. It is for this reason that the Law was necessary. Since man does not have the capacity himself to see himself as he truly is, it was imperative for God to reveal to man that he is a sinner. False religion misunderstands the function of the Law, believing that it is within the capacity of man to be good by following the letter of the Law. Zwingli insists, however, that "we are only half-pious by the external act, and the heart is already inwardly adulterous, and has already become a thief, a usurer, a robber; for, whatever it is allowed to do, that it will do." [635: 20-22] Zwingli moves next to a discussion of the Gospel in order to show how God has provided the answer to man's powerlessness and sin, in a way that man himself could not.

The condition of man as sinner demonstrates the necessity of the grace of God. For "if no one can come to God unless he has no blemish,

according to Psalm 15 [Psalm 15: 1-3], and we cannot be without blemish, it follows that we must despair of coming to God by ourselves. Here the grace of God is revealed that is shown to us in Christ." [636: 26-30] But, in addition to providing a groundwork from which Zwingli leads into a discussion of the Gospel, his anthropology actually determines how he will explicate the content of the Gospel. His treatment of the redemptive work of Christ, which is "the entire foundation of the Gospel" [639: 7-8], is preceded by a description of the plight of man.[26] Zwingli concludes the presentation of man's helplessness by asking his readers to "note on the other hand how wisely God has taken care of all our weaknesses in Christ Jesus." [637: 32-33] He then follows the description with a point by point analysis of the work of Christ, carefully indicating the correspondence of Christ's remedies to the previously described needs of man.[27] Thus, Zwingli's method of explicating the nature of the Gospel is seen to begin with his understanding of man's need of the Gospel.

The double list given by Zwingli describing the plight of man and the work of Christ contains in summary form the substance of Zwingli's evangelical theology. First, "Adam, created by the Divine Wisdom who is the Son of God, sinned out of pride." [637: 18-19] On the other hand, Christ was humble, even to the point of bearing the humiliation of the cross for mankind. "Thus are we saved by the Wisdom of God

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26. 637: 18-30.

27. 637: 34-638: 26.

through whom we were created and against whom Adam sinned." [638: 1-3] Second, Adam suffered two deaths because of his transgression of the Commandment of God: one a bodily death, and the other a fall into the spiritual death of weakness and disfavor. "As Adam transgressed the Commandment of God, so have all we who are his children, in weakness and disfavor of God, fallen into two types of death--even as he." [637: 22-23] But Christ had neither the inherited weakness nor the guilt of personal transgression. "Therefore, as He through whom we were created gave Himself for us, so did He repay the Divine Righteousness for the grave death of the Fall, of weakness and disgrace of God." [638: 10-12] Third, man still would not merit eternal life on his own "even if we were pious and without our weakness, and served God all our lives according to His pleasure." [637: 24-25] Christ, however, "is dear and worthy enough to take upon Himself all human sin for eternity and to lead all men into eternal salvation." [638: 16-17] Finally, it is humanly impossible to achieve salvation because the "heavenly joy is so wonderfully great, holy and beautiful that no earthly life could deserve it, even if we were good, useful servants." [637: 27-29] But Christ who is Himself the Beauty and Image of the Father "was in misery for our sakes in order to obtain eternal joy and peace for us." [638: 25-26] With this passage explicating the Zwinglian understanding of the Gospel, the first principle of Zwingli's confessional theology enunciated earlier becomes clear, that is, whatever is lacking in man Christ graciously obtains for him before

God.[28] There are no works man can perform to merit this salvation. Everything necessary to true religion, true worship and true righteousness is lacking in man because of his sin. It is false religion which asserts that man is capable of contributing in some way to his own redemption. Man's redemption is planned, initiated and completed by God.

Man should not conclude, however, because he can do no works to merit his salvation that he is not to perform good works as a Christian. Christ's restoration of the true relationship between God and man through his atoning work imposes on man responsibility for a proper relationship with his fellow man. The practice of true religion finds the Christian devoting himself to the will of the Father; for he is actively to do good. Whoever maintains otherwise is a false Christian.

> How else? Has not God given us all things with His Son? Since He has now given this for our sin, I see that I may live in sin no longer. For, since I had previously stood so hopelessly in sin, why would I wander more therein? Since I am happy that I have been lifted out of the mire and have been washed, why would I throw myself therein again? [640: 29-641: 1]

The man who has trusted in Christ has experienced a new life and is not content to live as though he had not. This does not mean that the

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28. "Here we have in short the entire foundation of the Gospel, namely, that since it was impossible for us poor men to come to God on our merit, God ordained His Son to take human nature and to be sacrificed for us in death; for, He who was perfect in every way and without blemish was able to take away all our blemishes. Whoever firmly believes in this activity and trusts the precious fruitfulness of the sorrows of Christ has already believed the Gospel and will be saved." 639: 7-14.

Christian does not sin; for "as long as we live, that rogue, the body, because of temptations will never let us live a godly life." [641: 16-18] After all, man is still man. But there is a difference: "if we have trusted in God through Christ, then the fruits of the flesh cannot throw us down into damnation." [641: 18-19] The Christian will never have to stop struggling against temptations, but his confidence is no longer placed in his ability to overcome his weakness by himself. He knows that "whoever has securely trusted in the grace of God through Christ, after recognizing his weakness, can never be without the love of God." [641: 33-642: 1]

Zwingli develops the idea of the true and false Christian at length.[29] He sets forth the pharisee and the publican of Luke Chapter 18 as paradigm of the false and true man of faith. The pharisee trusts his own good works to save him. "He looks into his heart, believes he is righteous and thanks God that he is not as other men." [642: 25-26] In trusting his good works the pharisee "speaks nothing but naked arrogance." [642: 33] This is not true righteousness, but a grave sin. "For, overweening opinion of one's self is the true type of sin against God." [643: 1-2] The publican is different. Although he lives in the body and constantly encounters the temptations of the flesh, he does not despair. Instead,

> as often as he falls into sin, he humbles himself and always says: "O Lord, how wickedly I live in your eyes, but I still trust myself to your mercy." This diligent

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29. See 640: 3-646: 10.

> lamenting and running to God restrains more vices than any amount of care and precaution. For faith in God points out all sin, so reveals the secret scoundrel in the inner heart that he is not permitted to pass himself off as pious, and makes him more and more ashamed that he always comes before God with the old vices. [643: 8-15]

The difference between the two men is faith, which is itself a gift of God. It is bestowed by the Spirit of God. Thus, even the good works that the Christian does are possible only by the mercy of God. Man, because of his inherited Adamic weakness, lacks the power to make himself righteous before God in order to obtain salvation. This same weakness prevents him from maintaining the Christian life on his own. But Christ does what man himself cannot, both in terms of salvation and the Christian life. For Christian existence is the outward expression of the indwelling Spirit; it is the appropriation of Christ's work in the life of man. This is the foundation of true religion, as witnessed to in the Scriptures. Whoever maintains otherwise is not a Christian but an Anti-christ. "For, everything they should ascribe to and attribute to Jesus Christ, our Savior, they take away from Him and give it falsely to another creature--without any scriptural foundation, against the clear Word of God." [646: 2-5] In short, the test of the false or true Christian is whether or not one turns to Christ as sole mediator, or whether one looks elsewhere.

Zwingli turns finally to a discussion of the abolition of the Law. The basis of Zwingli's discussion of the abrogation of the Law is his understanding of the freedom Christ bestows on the Christian. The Law is eternal because it reveals the will of God; this can never change.

The external ceremonies of the Law have been abolished because they are no longer necessary after Christ has come. "When Christ came they fell as a shadow disappears in the light." [646: 30-31] It is true that the Law that concerns the inner piety of man still stands, but it does not affect the man of faith.[30] He has been saved from the penalty of the Law by Christ. The Christian has died to the Law. He has considered the Law and has recognized that he cannot keep the Law.

> He further despairs of attaining salvation because of his works, and comes to the point where he surrenders himself solely to the grace of God. Now he is in the grace of God, and through recognition of the Law is dead to the Law; therefore, he now lives in unique trust in the grace of God. ... He has placed all his trust through faith in Jesus Christ. He now lives in Christ, and Christ lives in him. [648: 22-31]

The believer who lives in Christ needs no Law--only Christ. In addition to salvation from the external ceremonies and the penalty of the Law, the Christian is also freed from all external laws which false religion presents so as to make one pious before God. "Herein belong all papal laws not grounded on the Word of God." [651: 6-7] If they are not grounded in the Word of God they are mere human inventions--false

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30. Note that the third use of the Law which Calvin emphasizes is missing in Zwingli as in Luther. See Calvin's statement in the Institutes: "The third and principal use, which pertains more closely to the proper purpose of the law, finds its place among believers in whose hearts the Spirit of God already lives and reigns." II. vii. 12. (BN III: 337, tr. LCC 20: 360). For an example of the exclusion of the third use in Luther, see "The Freedom of a Christian," WA 7: 42-73 (tr. LW 31: 333-377). "It is clear, then, that a Christian has all that he needs in faith and needs no works to justify him; and if he has no need of works, he has no need of the law; and if he has no need of the law, surely he is free from the law." WA 7: 53 (tr. LW 31: 349). For the primary reference to the third use of the Law in Melanchthon, see his definition in the 1535 edition of the Loci Communes. CR (Melanchthon) 21, cols. 405-406.

religion--which cannot make a man truly pious. Only Christ can do that.

This does not mean that the Christian is free to disobey the laws of the government. For, although the Christian is freed from those laws calculated to make a man pious, he is not free to disregard his responsibility to the human community. These laws have nothing to do with making a man acceptable to God; rather, they were allowed by God to insure that each man would give every other man his due.[31] "The witness is sufficiently clear that we are to be obedient by divine command to the government, which carries the sword." [651: 33-35] Those who do not obey the government or arbitrarily exempt themselves from the responsibility of accepting the temporal authority are not true Christians; for God commands such obedience. Of course the government is not to demand anything that is contrary to the Word of God.

> God has given the sword into the government's hand, not so that it may fight for the sake of its own profit, but that it may protect the good and punish the evil. Otherwise God will find the way better to destroy the government's commands even as the priest's commands [652: 20-23]

In short, it is the responsibility of the temporal government to rule over society in accordance with the demands of the Word of God. Zwingli asserts on this basis that it is the responsibility of the government, not of private individuals, to bring about whatever reforms are needed in

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31. "If it should come to the point that under Christians one does not give to the pious his due, thereby not being obedient to the government, it would then be better to live with the Turks than with such a people." 652: 13-16.

Zurich.[32]

With this treatment of the abolition of the Law and the responsibility of the government Zwingli brings to a close his discussion of the basic arguments of his theology of confession. In addition to using the false-true principle in his description of the message of the Gospel, Zwingli has constructed the explication of his doctrine from the perspective of his anthropology. That is, Zwingli chose to discuss his evangelical theology in terms of its relevance to man. His presentation of God's activity, which is learned in the Word of God, was determined by man's need of the Gospel. The point that Zwingli has consistently made is that unless man relies on God he can achieve nothing that is pleasing to God, but he does not have to provide any means within himself in order to please God. All efforts by man to make himself righteous and acceptable to God are false religion. True religion, on the other hand, turns to God in Christ who has taken care of all of man's needs where man could not. This does not mean that God has taken man out of this world, and that, therefore, man need no longer fulfill his obligations to the human community. It is still the responsibility of each Christian to give every other man his rightful due, and it is to this end that the government has been ordained by God. This description of Zwingli's theology has been presented as confessional

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32. "If, however, there are some stiff-necked ones that will not yield to the Word of God and yet cannot bring forward contrary evidence, the government, not private individuals shall deal with these." 652: 32-653: 2.

theology, that is, as Zwingli's explication of his Christian experience. It is on this foundation that Zwingli discusses the immediate issues of the images and the Mass in the last two sections of the Instruction.

### (3) The Practical Theology of the Instruction

The Short Christian Instruction was not only a theoretical statement of evangelical theology. The treatise was also designed to play a role in the actual reformation of the Zurich churches. As has been suggested, the Instruction was intended to serve as a textbook of evangelical doctrine, which the pastors were to use in educating the people. As such it is as a compendium of Zwingli's earlier writings, especially the Exposition ... of the Conclusions. It has been shown throughout this thesis that Zwingli's concern for practical reform, concomitant with his reflection on the abuses inherent in false religion, normally influenced his explication of the Gospel. However, in the structure of the Instruction he appears to derive his practical theology from his confessional theology. The reason for this is twofold. In the first place, although Zwingli's theology was forged in the heat of controversy, this actuality must not be made a hard rule so as to exclude a two way interaction between Zwingli's understanding of true and false religion. After all, it is hardly conceivable that Zwingli would recognize a false God or an idol unless he had some sense of who the true God is. Apart from some notion of true religion it would have been impossible to designate particular religious manifestations as abuses. But, on the other hand, it is certainly true that Zwingli's

description of true religion grows out of his encounter with false religion. Thus, rather than saying that one conception always led to the other, it must be recognized that each influenced the other. In the second place, Zwingli appears to derive his practical theology from his confessional theology in the Instruction because of the nature of the document. Not only was it intended for educational purposes at home, but also to serve as a confession to the confederacy at large. With these purposes in mind Zwingli was able to write a logically constructed treatise. It is only to be expected, therefore, that he would base his practical, reforming theology on his confessional, evangelical foundation. Thus, the Instruction provides an illustration of the manner in which Zwingli justified his false-true religious principle and his socio-political principle on his understanding of the Gospel.

First, the false-true principle has its roots in the Zwinglian notion that whatever is lacking in man Christ graciously obtains for him before God. With his understanding of the necessity and efficacy of the grace of God, Zwingli's reflection on the abuses of that doctrine prevalent in current church practice led him to formulate the distinction between false and true religion. Second, the socio-politcal principle grew out of his acceptance of the role of the government as ordained by God to insure human justice, together with the confident realization that the Word of God actually produced results in the lives of mature men of faith. It has been shown that the controversy over the images and the Mass was in reality a question about true or right worship. It now remains to illustrate this central

issue in the light of Zwingli's evangelical theology.

Zwingli's position on the images can be simply stated: "images are forbidden by God." [654: 11-12] He marshalls many scriptural proofs to make his point. In fact, in his first paragraph he lists thirty-eight passages from the Old and New Testaments, which help prove his contention.[33] He offers the passages for the use of those who are to be instructing the people about the images.

> For, if Christian men are instructed rightly that one should not show the images any honor, then one can have better patience until the weak also are enlightened--in order that images may be abolished with concord. [655: 5-8]

However, he does not confine himself merely to listing passages about images. It is Zwingli's position that images lead men away from God:

> He who should seek faith solely in God and yet has sought help and confidence from a creature has made a foreign god for himself. The one God is the only God in whom man can have refuge. Hence, one thing that may draw us from God: foreign gods. Another thing that may lead us away is images. For that reason, God forbids them. [655: 21-26]

All honor is due God, and any honor offered to images takes away from God what is rightfully His. For this reason they are to be taken out of the places of worship. Another reason the images are to be done away with is that they are offered as means of teaching the faithful when "we should be taught solely by the Word of God." [656: 15-16] In making this point Zwingli repeats an oft stated accusation: "we have

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33. 654: 17-655: 2.

begun to seek from creatures what we should have sought only from God." [656: 19-21] This is the theological justification of Zwingli's opposition to the images: images are a hindrance to faith, and turn man from seeking God to seeking foreign gods. The true Christian man does not need or want images. For

> the image only leads to external weakness and cannot make the heart faithful. Externally, we see clearly what the saints have done, but images cannot give us the faith wherein all things must come to pass. If we now have clear and undefiled faith, see how we ridicule ourselves for having had an unknowing, weak faith wherein we imagined images admonish us--when everything idle is without faith. [657: 21-28]

In short, when any cultic practice threatens faith it becomes unacceptable to the Christian; images must go.

Zwingli finds the view of the Mass as a sacrifice no less acceptable. For the Christian there is only one true sacrifice: Christ's sacrifice of Himself on the cross. No further sacrifices are needed, for "by this one death He purified and paid for the sins of the whole world for eternity." [659: 15-16] The priests who maintain that they sacrifice Christ in the Mass have done so "without foundation in the Word of God." [659: 34] When the priests insist they sacrifice Christ they are blaspheming God by suggesting that Christ's true sacrifice was not enough and must therefore be supplemented by the actions of men. They are also placing themselves above Christ by insisting that they can sacrifice Him. If a man "undertakes to sacrifice God, he blasphemes Him; for he is making himself so great as if he were able to sacrifice God. But the Christian may sacrifice no one other

than himself." [660: 19-22] The priests' false view of sacrifice also encourages depravity. "For all robbers, profiteers, traitors, murderers and adulterers have believed that their actions would be just if they let a Mass be said for their misdeeds." [660: 31-33] In addition, the priests themselves sin in creating a fictitious sacrifice for the purposes of enriching themselves. Even if the Mass were a sacrifice "it would still be an abomination to take money and rewards of temporal possessions for it." [661: 2-4]

Zwingli does make some suggestions as to the proper use of the Lord's Supper, based on the scriptural accounts of the institution of the sacrament by Christ. The sacrament should not be called a Mass or a sacrifice, but a "testament and memorial." [661: 12-13] The truncated form should also be done away with and both kinds offered to the laity. The cup has been withheld from the common people "only to insure ... that it be considered a sacrifice, and not different from the many other ceremonies, vestments, crosses and peculiar opinions." [661: 17-19] The observance of the sacrament should be essentially a simple ceremony, based on the Scriptures.

> We learn that the legitimate use of this sacrament is as follows: as often in the year as the church wishes, one shall proclaim and preach the suffering and death of Christ, telling how much good and peace has been brought to us, and for the strengthening of the faithful one shall eat with them the body and blood of Christ. This, in short, is the simple wish and intention of Christ. [662: 30-663: 2]

In suggesting the proper mode of observing the sacrament Zwingli has made a typical contrast between the "wish and intention of Christ" that

should be the normative standard of judgment, and the "peculiar opinions" of the priests, which are not to be followed. Once again it is a question of biblical Christ-centered religion or the manufactured false religion of men.

To summarize: Zwingli's practical reforming principles, which are the basis of his critique of current worship, were derived from the tenets of his confessional theology. His judgments of contemporary religious expression took the form of contrasting false and true religion. Any form of religion that was not in harmony with God's graciously meeting man's need solely in Christ was false religion. This applied to all worship practices, doctrines and expressions of the Christian life. Such religion could not be evangelical religion because it was not biblical religion. The norm of true religion was Christ, as revealed by the Spirit through the Word of God. False religion turned away from worshipping God in the Spirit to creating external ceremonies and practices that hindered true faith. Doctrines which maintained that man could in some way merit God's favor or assist God in making the Gospel more efficacious were false doctrines. Efforts to interpret the Bible according to standard commentaries and traditions were equally false. Maintaining anything in the churches or in worship that could receive any of the honor due to God alone was not acceptable. The blow Zwingli struck against the use of images and the presentation of the Mass as sacrifice was intended to remove what were perhaps the most obvious manifestations of false religion in Zurich. For both placed in the hands of man what only God could do. True religion, on the other

hand, was entirely in the hands of God.

Zwingli's socio-political principle was also evident in the critique of current practice. Zwingli wanted to see a Christian society established in Zurich. It is interesting to note that although Zwingli preached against most external manifestations in worship--in an effort to return to the basic simplicity of Apostolic times--he actively supported the role of the government in building an external Christian society. The difference lies in that external worship practices usually prevented one's coming to God whereas the government strove to encourage true religion. If it had ever come to the point that a government hindered true belief then Zwingli would have opposed that particular government, but not all governments in general. He directed the brunt of his criticism in two directions. First, he attacked the clergy who assumed political power, thereby usurping what rightly belonged to the temporal government while likely ignoring spiritual matters, which were their true responsibility. Second, he attacked those radicals who were not willing to let the government carry out its divinely appointed function of building the Christian society. Zwingli was very careful in advocating change. In the first place, he did not want to create an uproar among those not yet ready to change. This would both damage the tranquility of the society and prejudice the weak against the Gospel. In addition, he was confident that the Spirit of God would bring about the necessary enlightenment in the minds of true believers. On this note he concluded the Short Christian Instruction.

## C. The Victory of the Reformation in Zurich

The task of implementing reform in the churches in Zurich was the responsibility of the Zurich Council. The specific issues at hand concerned the Mass and the images. These two aspects of worship were essential to the old church in Zurich. To change the Mass and to throw out the images was to create a new context of worship in Zurich--in essence, to create a new church on the principles of true religion. It was no longer a question simply of abuses, but of true worship. Unless Christ was given his rightful place in the life of the church, i.e., unless the worship of the Zurich churches was consistent with the sole mediatorship of Christ, then there would be no gathering of the true church, the Bride of Christ, in Zurich. For several months following the Second Zurich Disputation, the Council found it necessary to operate on two fronts. Before the final decision explicitly to transform the external form of the Zurich Church the Council had to consolidate its gains both within Zurich and in relation to the rest of the Confederacy. Hasty action no doubt would have led to uproar in Zurich and war with the Catholics outside Zurich.

The events of December and January largely settled the affairs within Zurich and the question of the Mass. New demonstrations against the Mass took place on December 10. The chaplain's assistants complained of holding Mass in the face of the peoples' active disdain for the service, and some of the service books were torn apart and thrown

into the river.[34] The Council responded by meeting with the three pastors, and calling for the report of the commission which had been set up to study the problem of images and the Mass.[35] The Council also re-issued, with the promise of punishment for disobedience, an earlier mandate that no further action be taken unless it was duly authorized by the Council.[36] The mandate was read in the three People's Churches the following Sunday.[37]

On December 19 the Council received three articles of "Advice Concerning the Mass and Images" from the appointed committee.[38] The report was based on the conclusion that the Mass as sacrifice was not scripturally founded.[39] Action should therefore be taken on the basis of the Word of God rather than the words of men.[40] The report recommended that both the cup and the bread be given to the laity and that no pastor be forced to say Mass against his conscience.[41] The pastors

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34. E. Egli, Acktensammlung, no. 456.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., nos. 436, 458. Also compare Bullinger I, p. 135.

37. Ibid., no. 456. The three People's Churches were the Grossmuenster, Zwingli's church; the Fraumuenster, Engelhart's church; and St. Peterskirche, Jud's church.

38. CR II: 808-815. Also: Egli, Acktensammlung, no. 460.

39. CR II: 808: 9-10.

40. "Ir hand uewers ratschlags ein grund, namlich: das haell wortt gottes; unnd die darwyder fechtend, hand nuet daun das wortt des mentschan." CR II: 810: 15-17.

41. CR II: 811: 16-20; 812: 10-15.

also wrote of their desire to institute the correct observance of the memorial at the approaching Christmas service.[42] The pastors recommended with regard to the images that the previously announced policy of the Council be maintained.[43]

The Council took several actions of importance in response to the crisis at hand and to the "Advice Concerning the Mass and Images."[44] The Mass was not abolished nor were both kinds to be administered to the laity, but the Council agreed that no pastor who objected should be forced to say Mass. The service was also to be conducted as close as possible to the prescriptions of the Word of God. The Council further endorsed its earlier policy of waiting patiently while educating the people in the matter of the images. In addition, the Council moved decisively to bring the matters officially to the attention of the Confederacy by sending the Short Christian Instruction out to the rest of the Confederacy, to the Bishops of Constance, Chur, and Basel and to the University of Basel. The Council asked for a reply to the Instruction on the basis of the Word of God and set a deadline of Pentecost, May 15, for receiving replies. The Council promised to take action after that time on the basis of the Instruction and any replies to the treatise which were based on Scripture. The Council then called for a meeting

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42. CR II: 809: 6-11.

43. CR II: 814: 11-15.

44. The report from the advisory committee and the official actions of the Council is recorded in Egli, Actensammlung, no. 460.

later in December wherein those who dissented would be given the opportunity to lay their case before the Council by means of Scriptural arguments.

The results of the Council's action were many. In effect the Council had taken the first official step in the revision of the Catholic practices of worship. Walton's conclusion is unavoidable:

> The [Second] Disputation had agreed that the Mass was not a sacrifice and that God had forbidden men to make sacrifices to him. ... When the magistrates told the adherents of the traditional service that they must follow the form "closest to the will and Word of God," they forbade any reference to the Mass as a sacrifice which emasculated the Mass.[45]

By this decision the Council had struck a mortal blow at the heart of the Roman Catholic sacramental system. Thus, although the external form was ostensibly preserved until the Spring of 1525, the Council had officially changed the acceptable content of the Mass in worship, and, in doing so, had moved decisively toward reformation. However, the Council had suspended final action until the "Old Believers" in Zurich had responded and the Confederacy had had the opportunity to respond to the Council's confession of faith.[46] The remaining obstacles to the triumph of the reform movement in Zurich were few. The Council first would have to listen to the dissenters, wait out the self-imposed time limit, consider the response of the Confederacy, and, finally, decide

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45. Robert C. Walton, Zwingli's Theocracy, pp. 204-205.

46. The term "Old Believers" was applied to the dissident Conrad Hofmann and his followers. See E. Egli, Acktensammlung, no. 483.

either to continue the traditional worship practices or transform the Zurich churches by removing the images.

The conservative element among the clergy, the "Old Believers," met twice in disputation before the Council, December 28 and January 13-14.[47] In short, neither Hofmann nor his colleagues were able to establish their case for Catholic practices on the basis of the Scriptures.[48] In fact, as Garside points out, "Hofmann tried at first to rebut his opponents from Scripture alone, but fell back more and more on ecclesiastical tradition."[49] The conclusion was easily reached by the Council that the conservative believers had failed to present sufficient Scriptural arguments for overturning the announced policies regarding the Mass and the images.[50] The last hope for the "Old Believers" of Zurich had proved futile.

The May 15 deadline passed without the response to the Instruction requested from the Bishops of Constance, Chur and Basel and the University of Basel. The Council was not yet prepared to take final action. A decree was issued on the eve of the Feast of Pentecost.

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47. Charles Garside, Jr., Zwingli and the Arts, pp. 152-155 is a satisfactory treatment of the so-called Third and Fourth Disputations. One should note, however, that Garside incorrectly dates the Fourth Disputation according to E. Egli, Actensammlung, no. 483 as January 19-20, 1524. Recent scholarship puts the date at January 13-14. See Farner 3, pp. 460, 600. Otherwise, the description of Garside can be recommended.

48. E. Egli, Actensammlung, nos. 483, 484, 486.

49. Charles Garside, Jr., Zwingli and the Arts, p. 154.

50. Bullinger I, p. 142.

> Many people know how our lords have determined among themselves concerning images and the Mass, and commanded that the people should stand firm in this matter until now, that is to say, until Pentecost, and no one is to have done anything nor taken up anything. And since Pentecost is now here, unrest may consequently occur right away and our lords wish very much to be farsighted in this matter. And thus they command anew concerning these two matters, that is to say, images and the Mass, that still no one, be he woman or man, young or old, religious or lay, shall take up anything or do anything; but rather to wait for our lords who will take action in this matter as they think necessary and good.[51]

Not everyone was willing to wait, however. Minor outbreaks of iconoclasm took place in nearby Zollikon. On Monday, May 16, the Council once again asked the people's priests and the prelates on the Council for advice concerning the issues at hand.[52] On the basis of the advice given by Zwingli and his colleagues the Council published a decree on May 21, which ended the use of images for worship purposes.[53] The decree allowed individuals who had personally made or given images to the churches quietly to take the images home. Other images were not to be removed without the authority of the individual congregations. If images were left in the churches, then "no candles should be burnt before them or incense offered. Nor should they be given any honor, but all such reverence should be turned to the honor of God and our Savior Jesus Christ." [CR III: 116: 19-23] Thus images were no longer

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51. E. Egli, Actensammlung, no. 530. Translation by Charles Garside, Jr., Zwingli and the Arts, p. 155.

52. CR III: 120-131.

53. E. Egli, Actensammlung, no. 543. Also printed in CR III: 115-118.

acceptable for worship in Zurich.

Bishop Hugo finally replied to the Instruction, but it was too late. His answer was received June 1, but his pleas fell on deaf ears. On June 15 the Council voted to cleanse the churches of the images, thus carrying to final resolution the recommendations of the Instruction concerning the images.[54] On June 20, 1524, the three people's priests led a committee into the churches and systematically removed the images.[55] At the conclusion of the purge, "the true believers held a large, joyous divine service."[56] The Reformed Church founded on the principles of true religion, was now officially and victoriously established in Zurich.

D. Postlude: Christian Answer of Zurich to Bishop Hugo

With the victory of the Reformed Church in Zurich already assured, Zwingli was authorized to prepare an answer to Hugo's Christian Lessons Concerning the Images and the Sacrifice of the Mass.[57] This action was less a step in the accomplishment of the Reformation than a re-statement and justification of the theological principles underlying the reform

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54. E. Egli, Actensammlung, no. 545.

55. See the account in Bullinger I, p. 175.

56. Ibid.

57. Christenliche underrichtung des Hochwirdigen Fuersten und Herren, Herren Hugo, Bischoffen zuo Costantz, die Bildtnuessen und das Opffer der Messz betreffend, Burgermeister und Rhat zu Zurich uff den ersten tag Junij diss vierundtzweintzigsten jars ubersendt, cited by Emil Egli in his introduction to Christliche Antwort Burgermeisters und Rats zu Zurich an Bischof Hugo. CR III: 146-149.

of the Zurich Church. The Council published Zwingli's document August 18; it was entitled Christian Answer to Bishop Hugo by the Burgermeister and Council at Zurich.[58]

Zwingli reiterated the reliance of Zurich on the Scriptures, stating explicitly that the interpretations of Scripture were provided by the Spirit of God rather than man. He wrote,

> We hold the Divine Word above all words; for it alone is holy, firm, eternal and infallible. ... Alse we are certain that the understanding of the Divine Will and Word does not come from man but from the Spirit of God; for the Divine Word is not brought forth by man, but by God ... It is clear that the understanding of the Divine Word does not come from the wisdom of human reason, nor is it founded on the wisdom of this world, as our Lord Jesus Christ himself said, [See Matthew 11: 25]. ... And the Divine Word is not judged out of our heads, but out of the understanding of him who learns with a believing, fearful heart. [CR III: 225: 2-18]

This is to say that the interpretation of Scripture does not depend on human traditions or commentaries, nor does it require the endorsement of the Church for authority. As the Divine Word originates with God and not man, so also does the correct understanding of Scripture come from God and not man. This is one of the clearest statements by Zwingli concerning his biblical hermeneutic. It is the Spirit of God that enlightens man's understanding concerning the true meaning of Scripture. On this principle of biblical interpretation the Council found all the authority necessary for reforming the churches of Zurich. The Council had turned to the Word of God in faith for instruction, had

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58. CR III: 153-229.

relied on the Spirit of God for enlightenment of their understanding, and had acted on the basis of that enlightenment.

The Council also justified its explicit actions of reform. God is Spirit and invisible and is to be worshipped in a spiritual fashion. One learns this in studying the Scripture. This is to say that God is to be worshipped on His own terms, not in terms of the creations of human reason such as images.[59] Therefore, images are not to be used in worship because "they are a way leading from God to the creature." [CR III: 226: 12-13] Likewise the Mass is not a sacrifice; for Christ Jesus "died and was sacrificed only once." [CR III: 226: 36] The sacrament, which was instituted before Christ's death was "an eternal testament so that all who believe that Christ Jesus suffered death on the Cross for them may be considered brothers among one another and the body of Christ whose Head He is Himself." [CR III: 226: 18-21] Furthermore, the true unity of believers is grounded not in the external church but in the work of Christ who "has made us sons of God."[60] [CR III: 227: 25]

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59. "Der unsichtbar gott wil nit verbildet sin; die menschliche wyssheit beredt sich selbs, sy nemme andacht von eyner sichtbarenn bildnuss, so doch goettlich erkantnuss und liebe allein von gott kumpt, unnd die hoechsten fruend gottes nit ab gemaelden oder bilden, sunder ab dem wort glert und bericht worden sind; nit ab dem wort, das in den orenn ertoenet, sunder ab dem, das in dem hertzen sich kundbar macht und es besitzt, das all weg nach ist im hertzen unnd mund, als gott spricht." CR III: 226: 3-10.

60. "Hie sehend wir die einigheit, die Christus will zweschend uns under einandren und in imm sin, dass, wie alle sine gloeubigen mit sinem tod erkoufft und erloesst sind, sy ouch dannethin glych als ein lychnam, der aber alle glider einhaelligklich begryfft, einhaellig waerind, und yeder des andren bruoder." CR III: 227: 20-34.

Thus did Zwingli and the Council justify to Hugo the basis on which they had brought the reform movement to full fruition in Zurich. The unity of the true church was not destroyed, for all believers were one in Christ through faith. Religion that depended on external authority and means in worship could only be false religion. In the Council's mind the transformation of the life of the Church in Zurich had been accomplished by trusting in God's Word and the understanding of the Divine Word granted by the Spirit of God. In short, the Reformation had re-established true religion.

## E. Conclusion

The removal of the images from the churches in Zurich under the authorization of the Zurich Council and the answer sent to Hugo are the terminal points of this study of the Reformation in Zurich. The Reformation was not completed in June, 1524, with the removal of the images. The final reform of the liturgy did not come until Spring, 1525; the sacramental controversies with the Baptists and Lutherans were yet to come; the tragic wars with the Catholic Cantons were several years away. Nevertheless, if the Reformation was not complete by June, 1524, its success certainly was assured, and its shape was determined. With the decisive, official acts transforming the worship of Zurich churches the nature of the reform movement was clearly revealed.

The Reformation in Zurich was a long and gradual process. In retrospect, the essence of that reform is evident in the development of

Zwingli before he came to Zurich. The influences on him have not been offered as causes of the Reformation; rather they have been presented so as to make intelligible the many aspects of the reform movement in an attempt to understand both the nature of Zwingli's early theology and the Reformation itself. The writings and work of Zwingli in Zurich followed naturally from his earlier development. The religious concerns which Zwingli derived from his Erasmian experience centered in his work to restore true religion, understood in terms of Scriptural and spiritual piety. His was a consistent development and he remained true to his original search. He was no less moved by social and political concerns. His pulpit activity showed a willingness to accept and utilize the political order in his efforts to transform society, as did his relations with the Zurich Council. He advocated a religion for the layman, and the laymen he knew were Swiss. His understanding of true religion and piety was in contrast to the merely external, false religion he saw in the Catholic Church. He wanted nothing external to stand in the way of man's approach to God or to lessen the reverence due to God. Above all Zwingli remained true to his notion of the sole mediatorship of Christ, which he discovered in 1516. The development of Zwingli and the Reformation after that time was in effect a commentary on that experience. For this reason the Mass and the images became the critical issue in 1523-1524. The Mass could not be a sacrifice, for this would take away credit for the work of salvation from Christ and give it to man. Images were no less acceptable, for not only would they come between man and God, they received honor that

belonged exclusively to God. Thus, the determination to restore true religion led to their removal. In the commitment to specific action, i.e., the reform of the worship of the Zurich churches in the months following the Second Zurich Disputation, the Council moved beyond mere calls for Scriptural preaching to the explicit acceptance of the Reformation in Zurich.

# PART TWO

# ZWINGLI'S SHORT CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION:

## An Annotated Translation

A Short Christian Instruction,[1] sent by the Honorable Council of the City of Zurich to the Ministers and Preachers living in the Towns, Villages, and Districts, that They may henceforth Unanimously Proclaim the Evangelical Truth and Preach to their Subjects.

Issued on the 17th day of November, 1523

[1] Mandate

We, the burgomaster, the Council and the Great Council,[2] as the Two Hundred of the City of Zurich are called, send first our greeting, favor and every good thing to each and everyone, both clerics and laity, prelates, abbots, deans, secular priests, ministers, pastors, and preachers of the Word of God living in our towns, villages and districts. As you perceived and understood in the last mandate we sent you,[3]

1. Ein kurtze und christeliche inleitung, CR II: 626-663. An alternative translation would be Brief Christian Introduction; however, the nature of the treatise is better expressed by Instruction.

2. The city government of Zurich was in the hands of a burgomaster and two councils. The smaller council was made up of fifty members with one-half serving at a time, and conducting the normal executive business of the city. The Great Council, called the Council of Two Hundred, was comprised of 212 delegates and was the main legislative authority of Zurich. The Great Council handled matters of major import, effecting laws without consulting the people.

3. That is, the mandate issued at the end of the Second Zurich Disputation. See Egli, Actensammlung, No. 436.

we promised to put into print as soon as possible a short instruction drawn by the scholars from the Sacred Scriptures. On our order such a work has been prepared. We have listened to a reading of it and, in our opinion, it is solidly based on the divine, evangelical writings of the New and Old Testaments. We do not want to keep this instruction from you; therefore, we are both publishing it at large and sending it to each of you individually.

Our wish and intention in this matter is that you comply with the latest mandate announced above and faithfully peruse this instruction and introduction of ours which is sent to you. Let the Evangelical Scriptures declared therein be thoroughly and diligently reflected on in their original form. Hopefully the Instruction will further lead you and many others into the knowledge of the True Divine Scriptures.[4] [629: 1] For this reason we admonish you with all earnestness, and for God's sake, as each office is required to do both by the Order of God and the Command of Christ, that the true knowledge and honor of God, Christian love and unity, and also the bettering of our morals, be learned from the Word of God, increasing forever and ever. For, our intention always is that your teachings be of one mind with the Gospel and spread everywhere in our districts. However, if there were some among you who wished to be negligent or disagreeable and behaved on

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4. "in erkantnuss warer goetlicher gschrifft wyter fueren." 628: 28. All references to the critical text will be to CR II unless otherwise stated. Internal citations will be made within the text in order to facilitate reference to the CR text.

another basis than the Holy, Divine, and Evangelical Scriptures, we would treat these as if they had acted unjustly and against the teachings of Christ. Previously, in the general proclamation and in your convocation[5] concerning the two articles, namely on images and the Mass, we requested our gracious lords, the bishops of Constance, Chur, and Basel, as well as the university at the latter place, and likewise our faithful, beloved confederates of the Twelve Regions and others who have been invited in a friendly fashion, to help give us instruction by their learned messengers in these articles through the True, Divine, Evangelical Scriptures. Once again we desire that whoever is able, advise us better or differently by the True Divine Scriptures. We will gladly receive such advice from them with particular gratitude and joy.[6] We also once again ask each and everyone concerning this matter that whoever feels we are unjust or have erred against God and His Word of the Holy Gospel to speak out in a friendly way of the True Word of God and of the Gospel for the sake of the Honor of God, of Truth, and Christian love. We shall receive and welcome such with the highest gratitude. [630]

5. That is, the Second Zurich Disputation. See above, pp. 124-130.

6. The deadline for receiving replies was set as Pentecost, May 15, 1524. See above, pp. 165-169.

## [2] A Short Christian Instruction

First, since anyone may well observe that the controversies[7] today arise solely out of some misunderstandings, and since all human strivings are in vain, may God enlighten and draw men inwardly,[8] so that each Christian man may pray both individually and in community, calling anxiously upon God to let the light of his Word shine forth and draw us poor ignorant ones by His grace, so that we may learn to know Him truly. And, as we know Him, to acquire true love and to order all our actions out of love to Him according to His pleasure--after this time eternally to receive, enjoy, and possess Him. Such prayers of ours God will answer; for, in Matthew Chapter 18, He has promised us that whatever we ask from Him He will give. [Matthew 18: 19] He also says in Luke Chapter 11: "If you who are evil can give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Heavenly Father give a holy or pious spirit to those who call upon Him." [Luke 11: 13] St. James also says "If anyone of you lack wisdom, let him request it from God, who gives to all men purely and simply, without reservation.

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7. See above, pp. 118ff. for a description of the particular controversies leading to the writing of the Short Christian Instruction. The several statements within the treatise referring to Roman Catholic abuses are easily understood. The statements directed against those who are too hasty in their actions or who react against the Catholics with injustice are directed against the radicals identified in Chapter Three. See above, pp. 100ff.

8. "For if God does not open and explain Holy Writ, no one can understand it; it will remain a closed book, enveloped in darkness." Luther, Commentary on Psalm 68. WA8: 17 (tr. LW13: 17). See the List of Abbreviations for a key to the abbreviations used in the annotations.

Thus it will be given to him; however, let him ask in faith or confidence, doubting nothing, etc." [James 1: 5][9]

Still, it is fitting to begin the teaching of God in the same way Christ began. Now, Christ began thus: "Mend your ways! The Kingdom of God is near." [Matthew 4: 17; Mark 1: 15] No doubt we should cry in this sinful world: "Mend your ways." Indeed, as John the Baptist did in Matthew Chapter 3, "The axe already has been laid to the root of the tree. Each tree that does not bring forth good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire." [Matthew 3: 10]

For anyone to know why he should mend his ways, it is necessary for him to recognize his guilt. Therefore it is essential in the first placeto know the source of sin. After we find that, then may each man deem himself a sinner and trust himself to the mercy of God.[10]

## [3] Concerning Sin[11]

We learn to recognize sin in a two-fold manner: first as coming from birth, second from our temptations.

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9. For a discussion of the necessity of faith in receiving the illumination of the Spirit, see Auslegung des 17. Artikels, CR II: 111: 7ff.

10. "This knowledge of our sin is the beginning of our salvation, that we completely despair of ourselves and give to God alone the glory for our righteousness." Luther, Lectures on Genesis, WA42: 291 (tr. LW2: 41).

11. This rubric is not found in Zwingli's text, but is given by Gwalter, 265: 4, as "De Peccato." A useful study of Zwingli's doctrine of sin is Rudolf Pfister, Das Problem der Erbsuende bei Zwingli. Pfister makes an analytical study of this doctrine in Zwingli in an effort to prove that Zwingli derived his notions on sin from the Scripture rather than humanism. Such evangelical 'reductionism' is not unusual among recent Zwingli scholars, and necessitates reading the literature with care.

From birth we are all sinners, for we are all born of Adam.[12] Now, Adam fell into sin, weakness, and death before he begat anyone.[13] Thus, it also follows that all who come from him inherit such weakness from him.[14] For, just as it is not possible for a man to beget an angel, so also the fallen, sinful Adam could not beget a sinless man. Adam fell as recorded in Genesis Chapter 2, "When God in Paradise forbade use of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, He said, 'On the day you eat thereof, you will certainly die.'" [Genesis 2: 17] Now God cannot lie. [Hebrews 6: 18] Adam ate the forbidden food.

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12. "I confess and am able to prove from Scripture that all men have descended from one man, Adam; and from this man, through their birth, they acquire and inherit the fall, guilt, and sin, which the same Adam, through the wickedness of the devil, committed in Paradise." Luther, Confession Concerning Christ's Supper. WA26: 502 (tr. LW37: 362).

13. "in die suend, presten und tod gvallen." 631: 4-5. Pfister points out that the concept "prest" does not come from the theological literature. Das Problem der Erbsuende bei Zwingli, p. 23. The reference to original sin as "prest" or "praest" is a peculiarity of Zwingli's. Through the first sin the God-created nature of man is infected with sickness. This "Suendenkrankheit" is the sin that lives in man, and it is from this that individual sins spring up. Pfister makes the point that Zwingli is taking a phrase from the Swiss dialect "koerperlicher Leiden" and turning it into a theological concept, "Suendenkrankheit." Ibid., p. 24. Thus where one might expect to find "Erbsuend" in Zwingli one reads "Erbpraest." It is difficult to render the concept in English; normally it will be given as "weakness." I am indebted to G. R. Potter for a succint statement of the meaning of "presten" as "an inherent and irresistible inclination to sin." For Zwingli it is the weakness inherent in the "flesh." For a statement of current conclusions regarding the concept, see Gottfried W. Locher, "The Change in the Understanding of Zwingli in Recent Research," Church History. Vol. XXXIV, (1965), p. 10. For other places where Zwingli uses the term, see Auslegung des 5. Artikels, CR II: 45: 6, and De peccato originali (tr. Jackson II: 1-32): CR V: 369-396.

14. See Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindertaufe, CR IV: 307: 16-308: 3; Auslegung des 5. Artikels, CR II: 34: 25ff.; De peccato originali, CR V: 375: 33ff. (tr. Jackson II: 8).

Thus did he also die. The result is a dead Adam, and inasmuch as no dead man can beget a living man it is clear that all who are born of Adam are dead.[15] The death of Adam is not only a bodily death, which also came with time, but the passage "then you will certainly die" means the following: the loss of the grace and friendship of God, the loss of indwelling, ruling or leading by the Spirit of God, the loss of the perfect order of human nature,[16] and the fall into sin. That is, after the

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15. For further discussion of death as punishment for sin, see Auslegung des 16. Artikels, CR II: 81: 20; Von der Taufe ... Wiedertaufe ... Kindertaufe, CR IV: 311: 1ff.; De vera et falsa religione commentarius, CR III: 657: 29ff. (tr. Jackson III: 79).

16. Thomas understands original sin as the loss of original justice or righteousness. In the state of original justice man possessed a supernatural gift of grace, donum superadditum, which, though not proper to man's natural state, organized all man's faculties in perfect balance: man's reason was subjected to God, the lower appetites were perfectly subjected to reason, the body was subjected to the soul. Thus with this supernatural gift man was enabled to attain his supernatural end, the visio dei. See ST 1a. 94-102 (tr. Basic Writings of Thomas Aquinas I: 902-949). The dispossession of original justice means the loss of man's integrity, that is, the order of his existence is destroyed and all the powers of man are left to seek their own ends inordinately. ST 1a2ae. 85. 1 (tr. B26: 78-83). Original sin means also guilt as the stain of the soul and punishment as the loss of man's original endowment and the disorder of his person. Man is deprived of his supernatural end. For example, see ST 1a2ae. 85. 3: "Through the gift of original justice the spiritual part in man had perfect hold over the inferior powers of soul, while it itself was perfected by God as being subjected to him. ... Original justice was taken away by the sin of the first parents. As a result all the powers of the soul are in a sense lacking the order proper to them, their natural order to virtue, and the deprivation is called the 'wounding of nature'." (tr. B26: 89, 91). Man's natural inclination to virtue is diminished but not destroyed. Although Zwingli appears to agree with the Thomistic position at first blush, the next sentence shows him to be in agreement with the other reformers, i.e., that man has lost all capacity for willing good. The phraseology of Zwingli here, "das verlieren der wolgetonen insatzung mentschlicher natur," 631: 19-20, means the loss of the capacity to will good.

destruction of his nature Adam and all his descendants are incapable of doing anything good;[17] for, they are weak.[18] And what is here called 'sin' is nothing but the weakness of the Fall and the impotence of our flesh as in Romans Chapter 7: "I can therefore work nothing, but the sin which lives in me." [Romans 7: 17] This is the weakness that was born within me, the sinful Fall through which death came into us. Romans Chapter 5: "Sin came into all men through a man and death through sin." [Romans 5: 12] [631: 29]

This is the first death of Adam: he has lost the grace[19] of God. Where there is no grace, there is no salvation, but only complete despair. His shame of nakedness also signifies this. When the Lord called him, he said, "Lord, I heard your voice and was afraid, since I was naked, and I hid myself." [Genesis 2: 9f.] [632: 1] Note! What is this nakedness of Adam, since God created him naked and he had so walked before Him? It was nothing but that he had fallen into death, sin, transgression, misery, weakness, and powerlessness, and that he saw in himself nothing good, under which protective cover or cloak[20]

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17. "And so this rule is universally true, that of himself man is nothing, is capable of nothing, and has nothing except sin, death, and damnation." Luther, Lectures on Genesis. WA42: 437 (tr. LW2: 247).

18. "presthafft." 631: 22.

19. "huld." 631: 29.

20. Augustine refers to the garment of grace which was stripped from Adam and Eve in the Fall, leaving them ashamed of their nakedness. City of God. XIV. xx. 17 (tr. NPNF II: 276). Thomas lists the wounds of sin as weakness, ignorance, malice and concupiscence. ST 1a2ae. 85. 3 (tr. B26: 88-93).

he would be permitted to come before God. Which bodily death is it, do you think, that had so painfully struck Adam, and which had quickly captured him in shame, other than the death of disaster, dishonor and weakness wherein he and all his descendants had to stand before God? Since they have nothing good, they would like to cover or protect themselves; therefore, the first death is the more serious.

The other death is of the body, a punishment for sin inflicted on us by God. And, as surely as all men who are conceived in sin must die, so certainly are they also children of Adam because of transgression, sin, powerlessness and nakedness. For we are clearly of the flesh alone, as God says in Genesis Chapter 6: "My Spirit will not remain with man; for, he is flesh." [Genesis 6: 3] Since, however, we know that the flesh is worthless, is capable of nothing and gives birth to nothing good, it follows that we, just as Adam, since we are nothing but flesh, are by nature capable of nothing that is either just or good.[21] [Romans 7: 18] Rather, all our inclinations are directed only to evil, as God Himself says in the previous passage: "All thoughts of the heart are directed to evil for all time." [Genesis 6: 5] And likewise in Genesis Chapter 8 He says: "The understanding and counsel of the human heart is evil from youth." [Genesis 8: 21]

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21. The 'flesh' does not refer to the body and the physical nature of man but to what is in opposition to the Spirit. See Luther, Bondage of the Will. WA18: 735 (tr. BW: 242). Also Preface to Romans. WA, DB7: 13 (tr. LW35: 371): "Paul calls everything "flesh" that is born of the flesh--the whole man, with body and soul, mind and senses--because everything about him longs for the flesh."

If it is evil from childhood then it must come from the heritage of Adam.[22] This is the right understanding of original sin: the Fall, transgression, powerlessness, loss of God, weakness, sin, or whatever you want to call it.[23] From Ephesians Chapter 2 it is clear how we are by nature all together the children of wrath. [Ephesians 2: 3] From Romans Chapter 3 it is also clear how we have all sinned. [Romans 3: 12, 23] It is clear from Psalm 14 how we are completely useless and do nothing good. [Psalm 14: 1] For, we are by nature all together the sons of Adam and stand on the side of transgression, and may by nature perform neither good nor reconciling deeds--either for ourselves or for another; we are all guilty. [Romans 3: 23] [633: 3]

The other thing we can say about sin, that is, weakness, powerlessness, etc., is that they grow in us; for we feel in ourselves that sin dwells in us. [Romans 7: 18] For, so long as we live in the body, hereditary weakness will bear evil fruit forever and ever.[24]

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22. Augustine, Enarrationes, Ps. 85: 5 (MPL36:476, tr. NPNF VIII: 406), points also to the heritage of Adam. Whatever happened to Adam happened also to us who are in Adam. Thus we have inherited the "frailty of the flesh" from Adam.

23. For Thomas on the transmission of original sin from Adam, see ST 1a2ae. 81. 1 (tr. B26: 4-13). For Luther's view, see Sermons on the Gospel of St. John. WA46: 644 (tr. LW22: 245). Also: Lectures on Genesis: "Original sin means that human nature has completely fallen; that the intellect has become darkened, so that we no longer know God and His will and no longer perceive the works of God; furthermore, that the will is extraordinarily depraved, so that we do not trust the mercy of God and do not fear God but are unconcerned, disregard the Word and will of God, and follow the desire and impulses of the flesh; likewise, that our conscience is no longer quiet, but, when it thinks of God's judgment, despairs and adopts illicit defense and remedies." WA42: 86 (tr. LW1: 114).

24. "Denn all die wyl wir in dem lychnam wonend, so gebirt der ererbt praest fuer und fuer boese fruecht." 633: 5-6. See Augustine, Enarrationes, Ps. 6: 2 (MPL36: 90, tr. NPNF VIII: 16).

Now the weakness and Fall grew out of inordinate desire, namely, that Adam wanted to know and to become great--indeed, to become like God.[25] [Cf. Genesis 3: 4-6] Thus, still today, every man is selfish. He pushes himself toward honor, name, power, riches, and peace for himself. He loves himself more than he is worth; he believes that all human work should serve him and he strives to that end. Denial is of no use here. If every man were to examine his own desires he would find them so great that no one could satisfy them. However, where man does not destroy anything, it is through God's power--not his.[26] We will speak about this later. We are speaking here of man and his reason, his striving, and his power. By nature he always looks out for himself first and foremost. In short, he does nothing just, but is completely selfish.[27] Thus Paul speaks in Romans Chapter 7: "I know that nothing good lives in me, that is, in my flesh." [Romans 7: 18] Read the whole

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25. According to Calvin unfaithfulness was the root of the Fall; ambition, pride, ungratefulness are a result. See Institutes. II. i. 4. (BNIII: 231-232, tr. LCC 20: 244-246): "For Adam would never have dared oppose God's authority unless he had disbelieved in God's Word." LCC 20: 246. Luther, Lectures on Genesis: "The source of all sin truly is unbelief and doubt and abandonment of the Word." WA42: 112 (tr. LW1: 149).

26. A similar emphasis is found in Luther: "For all who are presumptuous about their works do not know that they were made by the Lord; and they need to be reminded that they were made by the Lord. Otherwise they would humble themselves before their Creator and not be presumptuous about their own powers, because whatever they have, they have from God." Lectures on Genesis. WA43: 180 (tr. LW4: 62).

27. "Sy thuond nuet rechts, sunder ytel [gaenzlich] eygennuetzigs." 633: 18-19. Luther accuses self-seeking man of making himself into an idol. Heidelberg Disputation. WA1: 358 (tr. LW31: 46).

chapter; it will provide much understanding in the matter. Therefore, the will of the flesh, that is of corrupt humanity,[28] is always in conflict against God. God bids us die, suffer, endure; for that reason we all perceive how sweet that striving seems to us. Everything comes from the weakness out of the first Fall, and from selfishness.

At this point you say: "I do not know whether selfishness is just or unjust. How then can I perceive that sin is in me? Why should I not think of myself first? Does not nature teach that to me? The unreasoning animals care for themselves first." Answer: You speak correctly that the unreasoning animals think of themselves first; however, you prove nothing but that if you also do it, you do nothing other than the animals who are only flesh. [634: 1] Thereby you then see that you are in yourself nothing but flesh as Christ says in John Chapter 3: "What is born of the flesh is flesh." [John 3: 6] You brood over nothing but what the flesh is. Here your weakness becomes evident. If you are reasonable you should take notice that you without doubt think and act much differently from the unreasoning animal.[29] However, since you are exactly like them in your struggles--

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28. "zerbrochnen menschens." 633: 22. Gwalter: "corrupti hominis." 266: 10. Elsewhere Zwingli refers to the condition of man after the Fall as "zerbrochen natur," Auslegung des 16. Artikels, CR II: 99: 17-18; "naturam corruptam," De peccato originali, CR V: 376: 30 (tr. Jackson II: 9); "zerstoerten und verwildoten natur," Von der Taufe ... Wiedertaufe ... Kindertaufe, CR IV: 311: 9-10; and as "vitium corruptae carnis," De peccato originali, CR V: 377: 10-11 (tr. Jackson II: 10).

29. The emphasis upon man's possession of reason as separating him from animals is a common Renaissance theme. Baker describes Renaissance man's optimistic appraisal of himself thus: "If he was an animal, he was

as Psalm 49 says: "Since man was in honor, he has not understood it, but has become exactly like the unreasoning animals." [Psalm 49: 12]--you can mark my words that the weakness must somehow come from a sickness which actually restrains us and is born in us, i.e., the Fall of Adam.[30] However, since our reason by itself does not recognize the just and godly, God has revealed the Law to us wherein we may see what is just or unjust.[31] For, as Paul says in Romans Chapter 7: "I did not recognize sin except through the Law only. For I would not have known that lusts were sinful had the Law not said 'You shall not lust.'" [Romans 7: 17]

In order to make clearer what this means, it is necessary for us to speak of the Law.

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also a God. His body, combining the elements and the humors of the material creation, might be perishable; but his reason, like God's was divine; and his soul was immortal. From Pico's Oratio to Milton's Areopagitica the theme was endlessly developed: man alone has reason, and by his reason he may learn to know the God who has so signally distinguished him. This great gift, like everything else, is part of God's providence. ... Man may wallow in the mud, but he reaches to the stars. Herschel Baker, The Image of Man, p. 237.

30. "This is original sin born in us after Adam's fall, and not only something personal but also natural." Luther, The Disputation Concerning Justification. WA39/1: 84 (tr. LW34: 154).

31. "No man can ever discover or comprehend his wickedness, since it is infinite and eternal." Luther, Against Latomus. WA8: 115 (tr. LW32: 240). In his Lectures on Romans, Luther remarks that God wants man to recognize himself as he is. WA56: 229 (tr. LCC 15: 79). Aquinas suggests that although man has natural law, Eternal Law is still necessary to direct men to their supernatural end. ST 1a2ae. 91. 4ad.1 (tr. B28: 30-31). Elsewhere Zwingli discusses the role of Law in bringing about the recognition of sin: Auslegung des 5. Artikels, CR II: 35: 8; De vera et falsa religione, CR III: 707: 16 (tr. Jackson III: 137); Auslegung des 22. Artikels, CR II: 232: 19, 233: 1, 3-9.

## [4] Concerning the Law

The Law is nothing but a revelation of the Will of God.[32] As the Will of God is eternal, so also is the Law. Thus we are speaking here only of the Law which serves the piety of the inner man. It is nothing other than a revelation of the eternal Will of God. For example, this law: "You should love your neighbor as yourself" [Leviticus 19: 18; Matthew 22: 30] is nothing but the law of nature that says "Whatever you want done to you, do also to others;" [Matthew 7: 12; Luke 6: 31] and on the contrary: "What you do not want done, do not to anyone." [Tobit 4: 16] This law of nature, made sweet with love by God, must come from God alone.[33] And although the heathen also accept it, it nevertheless does not come from the reason of man--let them say what they will.[34] For reason sees only itself and does not think that it should listen to others, but that others should listen to and serve it.[35]

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32. Cf. De vera et falsa religione. CR III: 707: 1, 20ff. (tr. Jackson III: 137-138).

33. In the Auslegung des 39. Artikels Zwingli refers to the law of nature as the wisdom and leading of the divine Spirit, CR II: 325: 16ff., and as the pure Spirit of God who illuminates the understanding of man, CR II: 327: 3ff.

34. Since man's reason belongs to the "flesh" it is evil. See Auslegung des 16. Artikels, CR II: 98: 29; Auslegung des 1. Artikels, CR II: 26: 25; De canone missae epichiresis, CR II: 582: 25ff.; De vera et falsa religione commentarius, CR III: 643: 7ff. (tr. Jackson III: 61): "we can in no way attain of our own effort to a knowledge of what God is."

35. For Calvin's view of the limitations of human reason, see Institutes, II. ii. 18-21; III. i. 4 (BN III: 260-264; IV: 5-6, tr. LCC 20: 277-281, 541-542). Luther's views on reason are well known: "For

Therefore, all laws which form piety in the inner man can come from no one but God.[36] However, understand: the Law does not have the power to make man pious or just;[37] [635: 1] rather, it only points out how man should be if he wants to live according to the will of God, become pious, and come to God.[38] Romans Chapter 7: "The Law is holy and the Commandment also is holy." [Romans 7: 12] Now, it cannot be holy unless

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reason is not worth a thing for the purpose of salvation. Nothing we undertake and attempt with our reason will help our save us." Sermons on the Gospel of St. John. WA33: 120 (tr. LW23: 80). Also see WA33: 151 (tr. LW23: 99). Elsewhere he writes, "not a single article of faith would remain if I followed the rancor of reason." This Is My Body. WA23: 127 (tr. LW37: 53). A thorough treatment of Luther's views on reason is B. A. Gerrish, Grace and Reason. For a brief, though helpful comparison of Luther to Erasmus on reason, see Heinrich Bornkamm, "Faith and Reason in the Thought of Erasmus and Luther," Religion and Culture, pp. 133-139.

36. According to Augustine, after the coming of Christ man should live according to the soul, that is, the inner man or the new man, by reason of the new birth. Enarrationes, Ps. 6: 2 (MPL36: 83, tr. NPNF VIII: 16). Zwingli refers to the nature of man as amphibious in De vera et falsa religione commentarius. CR III: 910: 24-27 (tr. Jackson III: 341-342).

37. Augustine holds that the Law justifies no man, but shows that it is only by God's gift and the help of the Spirit that a man is justified. De Spiritu et Littera, 15 (MPL44: 217-218, tr. NPNF V: 88-89). Calvin writes on the feebleness of the Law thus: "For since the teaching of the law is far above human capacity, a man may indeed view from afar the proffered promises, yet he cannot derive any benefit from them." Institutes. II. vii. 3 (BN III: 329, tr. LCC 20: 352). In his Lectures on Galatians Luther continually stresses the point that the law cannot save man. "All the Law can do is to render us naked and guilty." WA40/1: 258 (tr. LW26: 149). The Law cannot bring peace, but drives the conscience to despair, thereby manifesting sin by its accusations. WA40/1: 257 (tr. LW26: 148). Luther maintains that the Law is "given to work wrath, to disclose sin, to reveal the wrath and judgment, to threaten eternal death." WA40/1: 403 (tr. LW26: 256). See also WA40/1: 44, 257, 272, 510 (tr. LW26: 6, 149, 159, 330).

38. For Luther the "true function and the chief and proper use of the Law is to reveal to man his sin, blindness, misery, wickedness,

it come from the holy. Insofar as it comes from us it is not holy; for, we are not holy. Therefore Paul speaks conversely not long after: "We know the Law is spiritual." [Romans 7: 14] Since, however, we are flesh, it is evident that the Law cannot come from us. All this demonstrates that the Law which teaches true inner piety must flow out of the divine will alone.

Further: if we have the Law we are not therefore just; for he is not recognized as pious who hears the Law. Rather, it is he who does the Law that is reckoned pious.[39] [Romans 2: 13] Wherein, then, is the Law good? The answer is in Romans Chapter 3: "One recognizes sin through the Law."[40] [Romans 3: 20] Understand that statement by this example: "You shall covet neither the possessions nor the mate of anyone" [Exodus 20: 17] shows you without doubt that if you desire such things, you sin. Yet, according to your self-conceit the desire would not be sin; for, you are of the opinion that if you were on your guard before the act, then you would not have sinned.[41] But see our

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ignorance, hate and contempt of God, death, hell, judgment and the well-deserved wrath of God." Lectures on Galatians. WA40/1: 481 (tr. LW26: 309). See also WA40/1: 224, 488, 517 (tr. LW26: 126, 314-315, 335). For Calvin, the chief purpose is the direction the Law provides Christians. See above, p. 153n.30.

39. De vera et falsa religione commentarius. CR III: 640: 28 (tr. Jackson III: 58). Luther's characteristic relating of the Law and promise is missing here in Zwingli. See Lectures on Genesis: "Therefore the promise must be distinguished from the Law. The promise requires faith; the Law, works. The promise is certain and reliable, and is surely carried out. But the Law is not carried out, because we, who try to fulfill it, are human beings, that is, weak sinners." WA42: 567 (tr. LW3: 26).

40. Ueber die Gevatterschaft usw. CR III: 480: 12-13.

41. Zwingli is refering here to Catholic practices of works-

cunning![42] We are only half-pious by the external act, and the heart is already inwardly adulterous, and has already become a thief, a usurer, a robber; for, whatever it is allowed to do, that it will do. Now our God is not blind; He sees the hearts of men. [Cf. I Corinthians 4: 5] If He finds lust or resisting therein, then he has already fallen in the sight of God. It is, on the other hand, not possible for us to be without temptations and lusts as long as we wear the flesh of Adam;[43] for, the flesh bears his fruit forever. [Cf. I Corinthians 15: 45-50] Thus it follows that we all must despair of our piety, for the Law stands firm and does not let itself tumble nor turn: "You shall not covet any man's goods." [Exodus 20: 17] Yet we may not of our own power be without greed; therefore, we also are transgressors and have fallen under the wrath and penalty of God. This will all be clear from the words of Paul in Romans Chapter 7: [Romans 7: 8f.] "Sin was death without

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righteousness. See Luther's Lectures on Genesis: "Thus the entire error of the papists lies in the fact that they consider the ordinary duties of this life which are commanded in the Decalog easy for them to perform perfectly." WA43: 30 (tr. LW3: 217).

42. "Sich aber unseren schalck!" 635: 19. Oskar Farner, Zwingli Hauptschriften, Vol. I, p. 256n.113: "Schau wieder unsere Schlauheit!" Gwalter: "Ecce igitur internum illum nequam in homine latentem, quem hoc modo deprehendere facile possumus." 266b: 34-35. Luther indicts self-righteous man for considering himself to be truthful, wise and righteous. Lectures on Romans. WA56: 229 (tr. LCC 15: 79).

43. "alle die wyl wir den Adams balg [Haut] tragend," 635: 25-26. Gwalter: "Interim vero nobis quoad corruptam illam Adami carnem gestamus, impossibile est, ut omnibus concupiscentiis et affectibus exuti vitam agamus liberam." 266b: 40-42. Aquinas points to the human flesh, in the sense of opposition to spiritus, as derived from Adam. ST 1a2ae. 81. 4ad. 3 (tr. B26: 22-23).

the Law" (that is, where there is no Law one does not know sin). "I have lived once without the Law" (that is, as long as we are not yet instructed with the Word of God, as children, we live without the Law). "However, when the Commandment came" (that is, after the Commandment was revealed to us) [636: 1] "then sin came alive" (that is, I then saw what sin is). "But I died" (that is, when I recognized the Law I saw well that I was dead). "Therefore has the Commandment become death for me that was given to me for good" (that is, I saw how I was worthy of death, since I could not fulfill it, etc.).[44] Later in the same chapter: [Romans 7: 14-20] "We know that the Law is spiritual; I however, am mortal, for I have resigned or sold myself to weakness or sin (understand: that which we bring here from Adam). For that which I already do does not please me. I do not do what I want, but I do what I hate" (since I have heard the Law and the Word I want to flee from sin, but the weakness of the flesh does not let me come to that point).[45] "Because I now do what I do not want, I agree with the Law, which indeed is good. However, what I do to the contrary is really sin's doing, that is, the weakness which lies or lives in me, etc." He says immediately after [Romans 7: 21-25]: "Thus I find that

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44. Augustine, De Spiritu et Littera, 66 (MPL44: 245-246, tr. NPNF V: 113-114); De Perfectione Justiciae Hominis, iii. 6 (MPL44: 295, tr. NPNF V: 161). Calvin, Institutes, II. vii. 5 (BN III: 330-332, tr. LCC 20: 353-354).

45. "und lasst aber mich das praesthafft fleisch nit dahyn kummen." 636: 12-13.

if I want to perform a good or right deed according to the instruction of the Law, I find that evil lies close to me. For I have delight in the Law of God according to the inner man. However I see in my members (that is, in my body) a different Law. The same strives against the Law of the heart and leads me forth captive under the Law of sin." (That is, of the weakness which lives in my body). "I am a wretched man! Who will save me from the body of death? I say, 'Thank God!', that I am saved through Jesus Christ, our Lord." See! In Paul's view we perceive and experience our own weakness and powerlessness. However, if no one can come to God unless he has no blemish, according to Psalm 15 [Psalm 15: 1-3], and we cannot be without blemish, it follows that we must despair of coming to God by ourselves. Here the grace of God is revealed that is shown to us in Christ.

This follows now from the Gospel; next we will show how the Law is abolished.

### [5] The Gospel

Although since the creation of the world Almighty God had dealt and spoken many times with His people, the powerlessness and weakness of Adam was so great that no one could fulfill His Word.[46] [637: 1] Therefore, it also follows, that no one could come to God. For, although He is merciful, He is at the same time just,[47] as in Psalm 111:

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46. Luther, Lectures on Romans. WA56: 385 (tr. LCC 15: 252).

47. Aquinas, ST 1a.21.4 (tr. B5: 80-85).

"The Lord is a tender God of mercy; He is also just." [Psalm 111: 4] Therefore, if we could perfectly fulfill His commandments in this age, we would no less need His pure grace by which He gives us eternal kingdom and joy. For, however great a man's service, he would still have no account due against the Eternal,[48] as Romans Chapter 8 says, "The sorrows of this age are not worthy of the future glory which will be revealed to us." [Romans 8: 18] We will remain silent here concerning the greatness of the splendor and joy. However, if we are not able to fulfill all that His righteousness demands, let alone overcome our evil temptations and weaknesses, the righteousness of God must still remain. Consider, then, how the Divine Wisdom decided on a wise means of salvation so wonderful that it is neither conceivable nor credible to the human intellect. May God enlighten the human understanding and take to Him man's heart and make it full of faith.[49]

1. Adam, created by the Divine Wisdom who is the Son of God [See I Corinthians 1: 24], sinned out of pride.

2. And he, who had fallen into the more serious death of weakness and disfavor of God[50] fell also into bodily death. As Adam transgressed the Commandment of God, so have all we who are his children, in weakness

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48. "hett er dennocht ghein rechnung gegen den ewigen." 637: 7.

49. Origen, De Principiis, I. i. 1 (MPG11: 121, tr. ANF IV: 242): "Truly He is that light which illuminates the whole understanding of those who are capable of receiving truth."

50. "in den schwaereren tod der ungnaden gottes." 637: 20. Gwalter: "a gratia et fauore dei excideret." 267b: 15.

and the disfavor of God, fallen into these two types of death--even as he.

3. And even if we were pious and without weakness, and served God all our lives according to His pleasure, human life still would not be worthy of the long, immeasurable eternity.

4. Also, heavenly joy is so wonderfully great, holy and beautiful that no earthly life could deserve it, even if we were good, useful servants. [Luke 17: 16] Behold, how truly Christ has said that it is humanly impossible to achieve salvation.[51] [Matthew 19: 26]

However, note on the other hand how wisely God has taken care of all our weaknesses in Christ Jesus. [See Isaiah 53: 4]

1. Christ was humbled even to the humiliating death of the cross according to Philippians Chapter 2 [Philippians 2: 8], and He [638: 1], through whom we were created, bore it for our sake. Thus are we saved by the Wisdom of God through Whom we are created and against Whom Adam sinned.[52]

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51. Here Zwingli summarizes a fundamental point of true religion: that man is incapable of coming to God on his own, or meriting salvation in any way by his own efforts. See above, pp. 47-48, 64-67, 69-70, 87-88, 97-98, 103-104, 107-109, 114-115, 144-146.

52. On Christ as the Wisdom of God, see Origen, De Principiis, I. ii. 1-4 (MPG11: 130-133, tr. ANF IV: 245-247): "Whatever, therefore, we have predicated of the Wisdom of God, will be appropriately applied and understood of the Son of God, in virtue of His being the Life and the Word, and the Truth, and the Resurrection." ANF IV: 247. Thomas: "The Son of God is the Word and conception of God understanding Himself. It follows, then, that the same Word of God, as wisely conceived by the divine mind, is properly said to be 'conceived or begotten Wisdom'; and so the Apostle calls Christ: 'the wisdom of God' (I Cor. 1: 24)." SCG IV. xii. 3 (tr. TCF IV: 91). On Adam and Christ see Augustine, Enarrationes,

2. Christ did not have the guilt of any transgression in Himself [Hebrews 4: 15]; for, "He had done no sin and there was not found any guile in His mouth." [I Peter 2: 22] He also had no sinful weakness of the corrupted nature in Him, for He was not conceived in sin and the stain of Adam, but was conceived by the Holy Spirit in the pure body of the Virgin Mary. [Matthew 2: 18] Therefore, as He through Whom we were created gave Himself for us [Galatians 1: 4], so did He repay the divine righteousness for the mighty death of the Fall, of weakness and disfavor of God, and made it possible for his believers cheerfully to take on bodily death for His sake.[53]

3. Eternal salvation He obtained for all men, for they were all created through Him as well as saved through Him. And since He is eternal God He is adequate and worthy enough to take upon Himself all human sin for eternity and to lead all men into eternal salvation, according to Hebrews Chapters 9 and 10.[54]

4. He also embodies the Beauty and Image of the Father [Hebrews 1: 3], and has let Himself be miserably spit on, mocked, and beaten

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Ps. 71: 2 (MPL36: 875-877, tr. NPNF VIII: 316): "The first man made us captive, the second man hath delivered us from captivity. ... In Adam they die through the flesh's nativity, in Christ they are delivered through the heart's faith." Commenting on the similarity between Adam and Christ Luther remarks, "The similarity consists in this, that just as through Adam sin came to all, so also Christ's righteousness comes to all who believe in Him." Lectures on Genesis. WA42: 163 (tr. LW1: 219).

53. Augustine, Enarrationes, Ps. 49: 2 (MPL36: 543-544, tr. NPNF VIII: 483). Luther, Burning of Brother Henry. WA18: 225 (tr. LW32: 267).

54. Zwingli quotes from these two chapters at length in the Auslegung des 18. Artikels. CR II: 112: 27-118: 28.

for our sakes. [Matthew 27: 29f.] Of that Isaiah Chapter 53 speaks: "He has neither form nor beauty." [Isaiah 53: 2] "And He has truly carried our weakness and sickness." [Isaiah 53: 4] He also is the salvation the angels joyfully sought in I Peter Chapter 1 [I Peter 1: 12]. He was in misery for our sakes in order to obtain eternal joy and peace for us.

This little passage provides an instruction for the consideration and admiration of the Eternal Wisdom of God who has done these things for our salvation's sake; for, no one can otherwise fathom or articulate it. [Romans 11: 33-35]

Now when the Savior of all men, Christ, was born of the holy, unspotted Virgin Mary, as Luke Chapter 2 states, the angel spoke to the shepherds [Luke 2: 10f.]: "See, I proclaim great joy to you, which all people will have, for to you is a [639: 1] Savior born who is Christ the Lord, etc." Here, then, is the gracious activity of God known as the Gospel, which He accomplished with us through His Son: that in all our need, powerlessness and despair the Son of God was proclaimed to us, came to be a Savior, and cured all our weakness.[55] And therefore He is called Jesus, that is, a Savior, because He has saved sinful man from his sin according to Matthew Chapter 1. [Matthew 1: 21] Here we have in short the entire foundation of the Gospel, namely, that since

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55. Luther describes the Gospel as "a proclamation about Christ: that He forgives sins, grants grace, justifies and saves sinners." Lectures on Galatians. WA40/1: 260 (tr. LW26: 150).

it was impossible for us poor men to come to God on our merit, God ordained His Son to take human nature and to be sacrificed for us in death; for, He who was perfect in every way and without blemish was able to take away all our blemishes. Whoever firmly believes in this activity and trusts the precious fruitfulness of the sorrows of Christ has already believed the Gospel and will be saved. He who does not believe therein is lost, according to Mark Chapter 16. [Mark 16: 16] For it has previously been sufficiently pointed out that we can do nothing good. Thus, the work of the Law also cannot make salvation, for we cannot fulfill it as God demands. Galatians Chapter 2: "All flesh will not be recognized as just by the works of the Law." [Galatians 2: 16]

We see this gracious activity thoroughly recorded in the Word of God, namely, that we are saved not by our works but by the pure grace of God through the redeeming work of the Lord Jesus Christ.[56] Christ says in Luke Chapter 17: "If you were to do all things which were commanded of you, then you would say, 'We are unworthy servants, etc.'" [Luke 17: 10] John the Baptist says in John Chapter 1: "See! The Lamb of God. See! He it is that takes away the sin of the world." [John 1: 29] If He takes it away, then the merit of our works does

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56. See Auslegung des 19. Artikels. CR II: 162: 34ff. Augustine, Enarrationes, Ps. 104: 17 (MPL37: 1349-1350, tr. NPNF VIII: 513): "Let no man glory in his own works. ... With Thy grace he is satisfied, when he is satisfied: let him not say that grace was given for his own merits." Luther, Against Latomus, contains lengthy scriptural proofs that man is a sinner. WA8: 43-128 (tr. LW32: 137-260).

not take it away.[57] Christ says in John Chapter 10: "I have come that men may have life, and also have it abundantly." [John 10: 10] John Chapter 5: "Truly I say to you, that whoever trusts in me has eternal life." [John 5: 24] John Chapter 3: "If I am lifted up from the earth, then I will draw all things to me." [John 3: 14] John Chapter 6: "That is the food or bread which comes from Heaven, (understand: the food of the Word of the Gospel), and gives life to the world, etc." [John 6: 50] Matthew Chapter 11: "Come to me all, etc." [Matthew 11: 28] The words of Christ are full of this view everywhere. Paul clearly proved and explained this for everyone in the Epistles to the Romans and [640: 1] to the Galatians, and in other places. It is reasonable for each pastor earnestly to think about this.

Here, however, there are many false or weak Christians[58] who say: "If our works do not save us, but only the grace of God which is given and assured to us in his Son, then we do not need to do anything good; rather, let us sin, or as Romans Chapter 3 says: 'Let us do much evil so that God may do much good in forgiveness through Jesus Christ.' [Romans 3: 8] Or, as Romans Chapter 6 says, 'Let us

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57. Augustine, De Natura et Gratia, 4 (MPL44: 249-250, tr. NPNF V: 122); De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, 13 (MPL44: 896-897, tr. NPNF V: 449). See Luther, Temporal Authority: "For without the Holy Spirit in the heart no one becomes truly righteous, no matter how fine the works he does." WA11: 252 (tr. LW45: 92).

58. Gwalter: "hic iam non pauci falso Christiani vel alioquin infirmiores sese produnt." 268b: 14-15.

remain in sin.' [Romans 6: 1]" Answer: whoever speaks thus has not experienced how sweet the Lord is, nor has he experienced the heavenly gift of participation in[59] the Holy Spirit recorded in Hebrews Chapter 6. [Hebrews 6: 4] For those who recognize their weakness which descends from Adam, and their own inner deceit[60] which every man well knows resides within, see their own misery and powerlessness to attain salvation. And if, on the other hand, they see the grace and salvation of Jesus Christ and trust therein, they are now born of God. [John 1: 13] If they are now the sons of God, then they have become the kind of sons who devote themselves to the will of their Father, so that they may come again out of disgrace into grace.[61] In Luke Chapter 15 the lost son does not say, "Father I know you have pardoned me; therefore I will sin and be froward," but "Father I have acted against God and you, so that I am not worthy to be called your son." [Luke 15: 21] Notice! It does not occur to him to do the former misdeeds again by which he had sinned against the Father. Those who firmly believe they are reckoned among the sons of God speak thus: "Father I am such a miserable wretch that I am not worthy to be called your Son. However, since for me You have given Your Son--certainly the Highest Good that is in Heaven or on the earth--I can only think that you refuse me nothing." [Romans 8: 32]

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59. "teylhaffte," i.e., Gemeinschaft. 640: 11. Gwalter: "per quod sancti spiritus participes reddimur." 268b: 24.

60. "eygnen inneren falsch." 640: 12-13.

61. "uss der ungnad zuo gnad." 640: 18.

How else? Has not God given us all things with His Son? Since He has now given this for our sin, I see that I may live in sin no longer. For, since I had previously stood so hopelessly in sin, why would I wander more therein? Since I am happy that I have been lifted out of the mire[62] and have been washed, [641: 1] why would I throw myself therein again?[63] This is the view of Paul in Romans Chapter 6: "Why would we who have been dead to sin, want to live therein any longer?" [Romans 6: 2] It is well pointed out later that, as Christ died and was resurrected, so also shall we be, after we have been buried in baptism exactly as He. [Romans 6: 3-4] We shall also be resurrected and lead a new life, etc. For, if we trust in Christ then this will come to pass with God's power. Where God is, all striving will cease as one departs from sin. It follows that those who speak thus are not believers in Christ even if they say with the mouth that they are Christians.[64]

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62. "uss dem kat gelupfft." 640: 33. Gwalter: "ex sordibus tam foedis." 269: 5.

63. This sentence provides an illustration of Gwalter's adding interpretative comments to expand the Zwinglian text: "Gaudeo et exulto, me ex sordibus tam foedis per tuam clementiam ereptum et subleuatum esse et preciosissimo filii tui sanguine ablutum: cur ergo me uolens ac libens iterum in eas coniicerem?" 269: 5-7. Whereas Zwingli wrote, "So ich fro bin, das ich uss dem kat [Kot] gelupfft [herausgehoben] und gewaeschen bin, wærumb wolt ich mich widrumb darin werffen?" 640: 33-641: 1. For Christ as the motive of the Christian life, see Calvin, Institutes, III. vi. 3 (BN IV: 148-149, tr. LCC 20: 686-687): "Ever since Christ cleansed us with the washing of his blood ... it would be unfitting to befoul ourselves with new pollutions."

64. See Luther, Theses on Faith and Law: "29. But having been justified by grace in this way, we then do works, yes, Christ himself does all in us. 30. Accordingly, if good works do not follow, it is certain that this faith in Christ does not dwell in our heart, but that dead faith, which is plainly an acquired faith." WA39/1: 46 (tr. LW34: 111).

For he whose only comfort and confidence is God may not suffer now to think that God is pleased by misdeeds.[65]

However, some would say here: no one would be able to come to God in this manner; for, although a man trusts in God, he nevertheless falls into sin daily and accordingly loses the grace of God again. Answer: that is true. As long as we live, that rogue, the body, because of temptations, will never let us live a godly life.[66] However, if we have trusted in God through Christ, then the fruits of the flesh [Cf. Colossians 3: 5] cannot throw us down into damnation;[67] but, as Christ said to Peter: "Watch! The devil has lain in waiting for you so that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for you, Peter, that your faith become neither unsteady nor weak." [Luke 22: 31f.] Thus we must remain firm in faith so that sin will be removed from all of

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65. Auslegung des 5. Artikels. CR II: 47: 30ff. Luther, Preface to Romans. WA, DB7: 9 (tr. LW35: 370). See also Luther's attack on Antinomians in Lectures on Genesis. WA43: 309 (tr. LW4: 241-242).

66. Augustine, Against Two Letters of the Pelagians, IV. x. 27; IV. xi. 31 (MPL44: 629-632, 634-636, tr. NPNF V: 429, 432f.). Luther, Lectures on Romans. WA56: 165 (tr. LCC 15: 127): "At one and the same time a righteous man and a sinner: a sinner in fact but a righteous man through faith in the promise and through hope of its fulfillment." The concept of the Christian as "simul iustus ac peccator" pervades Luther's writings. See Lectures on Genesis, WA42: 406 (tr. LW2: 204-205), WA43: 36 (tr. LW3: 225); Lectures on Galatians, WA40/1: 368 (tr. LW26: 232); Preface to Romans, WA, DB7: 23 (tr. LW35: 377).

67. Augustine, Enarrationes, Ps. 89: 30 (MPL37: 1130, tr. NPNF VIII: 435-436). Calvin, Institutes, III. iii. 10-15 (EN IV: 65-72, tr. LCC 20: 602-609). Concerning sin in the people of God, Calvin remarks, "Sin ceases only to reign; it does not also cease to dwell in them." Institutes, III. iii. 11 (tr. LCC 20: 603).

us through Christ, although both the devil and the flesh will force us through the sieve[68] and entice us with sin to despair. But, as Peter's external denial did not bring him into damnation, so also may no sin bring us to damnation, save one--unbelief.[69] Here speaks however, the true Nonchristian: "I firmly believe in Christ; yet, I do nothing Christian." Herein one sees that you are a Nonchristian, for one recognizes a tree by its fruit. [Matthew 7: 16, 20] Therefore, understand the following: as has often been pointed out before, whoever has securely trusted in the grace of God through Christ, after recognizing his weakness, can [642: 1] never be without the love of God. Who does not want to love Him who has so graciously taken man in his weakness, and has first begun to love him [I John 4: 19], and to draw him to Himself? Where, now, the love of God is, there is God; for God is love Himself and whoever is in the love of God is in God and God is in him. [I John 4: 16] Even if God is in right believers,[70] they nevertheless sin. Then it follows as Paul says in Romans Chapter 8: "If now Christ is in you, then is the body dead because of sin, but the spirit or soul lives because of justification." [Romans 8: 10] This justification is nothing but a man's placing himself in and devoting

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68. "ob uns glych der tuefel und das fleisch rytret." 641: 24-25, i.e., as the devil attempts to harvest his crop.

69. In his Preface to Romans, Luther calls unbelief the only sin. WA, DB7: 9 (tr. LW35: 369). Zwingli appears to agree at this point. However, the statement above, p. 195, to the effect that Adam sinned out of pride, leads to some confusion. It seems likely that for Zwingli pride is the cause of unbelief. See above, note 25; below, note 75.

70. "recht gleubigen." 642: 6.

himself to the grace of God: this is true belief.[71] Paul maintains that our body is always dead and gives birth to deadly or sinful works. However, this same sin cannot damn us if we have been justified in faith, that is, if we trust with certainty the grace of God through the Lord Jesus Christ.[72]

We will set here two men as an example so that one may understand how it may come to pass that the believer is not damned, even if he sins, but that the sin provides him an occasion for resurrection and improvement.[73] "For all things work together for good for those whom God has loved." [Romans 8: 28] It is the opposite for those who judge themselves pious by their works--those whose good works serve evil. Take the pharisee and the publican of Luke Chapter 18: [Luke 18: 10-14] The pharisee treasures his own works and, as he looks into

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71. "war gloub." 642: 12. Calvin, Institutes, III. xi-xviii (BN IV: 181-282, tr. LCC 20: 725-833). See especially Calvin's definition of justification: "The acceptance with which God receives us into his favor as righteous men. And we say that it consists in the remission of sins and the imputation of Christ's righteousness." Institutes, III. xi. 2 (BN IV: 183, tr. LCC 20: 727).

72. Justification for Luther is the non-imputation of sin. For example, see Lectures on Galatians. WA40/1: 355, 368 (tr. LW26: 223, 232). In Lectures on Genesis, he writes: "The justification of Christians consists in this, that sin has been made weak and does not have dominion over us." WA43: 310 (tr. LW4: 243). In the Preface to Romans Luther defines faith in a manner similar to Zwingli: "Faith is a living, daring confidence in God's grace, so sure and certain that the believer would stake his life on it a thousand times. This knowledge of and confidence in God's grace makes men glad and bold and happy in dealing with God and with all creatures. And this is the work which the Holy Spirit performs in faith." WA, DB7: 11 (tr. LW35: 370-371).

73. "ein val zuo einer urstende [Auferstehung] und besserung." 642: 19-20. That is, moral resurrection.

his heart, believes he is righteous and thanks God that he is not as other men. The publican who has despaired of his piety but not of God, says: "God, be merciful to me, a sinner." The publican was adjudged by Christ more pious than the pharisee, not because he had lived more respectably, but because he believed God to be merciful and true and would hear him as He has promised us.[74] [Matthew 7: 7-11; Luke 11: 9-13] See. Here will the true righteousness of faith be made clear. The pharisee trusts in his works; therefore, he speaks nothing but naked arrogance and builds on sand. [Luke 6: 49] "Lord I thank you that I am not as other men." See how our righteousness serves arrogance; therefore [643: 1] it is not righteousness but a grave sin. For, overweening opinion of one's self is the true type of sin against God.[75] See therein, however, the righteousness of faith--that it rejects no one but itself, that it humbles itself, and trusts in the mercy of God alone and builds on the rock. [Luke 6: 48]

Now take this publican who so faithfully trusts in the mercy of God and let him live all life long in the body; he will not be without

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74. Zwingli relates faith to the promises of God here as does Luther. See Lectures on Genesis. WA42: 451 (tr. LW2: 266): "What would be the advantage of faith if there should be no promise? Hence promise and faith are related terms."

75. According to Augustine, not every sin is a sin of pride, though it is a great sin. De Natura et Gratia, 33 (MPL44: 265, tr. NPNF V: 132). Elsewhere Augustine speaks of three kinds of vice that include all sins: pleasure of the flesh, pride and curiosity. Enarrationes, Ps. 8: 13 (MPL36: 105-106, tr. NPNF VIII: 31-32). According to Thomas pride (self-love) is the beginning of all sin, ST 1a2ae. 84. 2 (tr. B26: 64-67). Calvin points to pride as the beginning of all evils. Institutes, II. i. 4 (BN III: 231-232, tr. LCC 20: 244-246). See above, notes 25, 69.

the temptations of the flesh. However, he does not despair at them, but as often as he falls into sin, he humbles himself and always says: "O Lord, how wickedly I live in your eyes, but I still trust myself to your mercy." This diligent lamenting and running to God restrains more vices than any amount of care and precaution. For trust in God points out all sin, so reveals the secret scoundrel in the inner heart that he is not permitted to pass himself off as pious, and makes him more and more ashamed that he always comes before God with the old vices.[76] Observe the diligent, necessary watchman: faith. This view you will find in Romans Chapter 6: There Paul teaches that we should give attention lest sin rule in us and we become subject to sinful temptations. [Romans 6: 12] For the temptations of weakness rule when we let them rage unimpeded, uncensored, and uninterrupted, and would pay for them later with our works. Where there is such a plan, one gives free course to sin and seeks works instead--always insisting that God should accept such for our sin. However, wherever the true watchman, faith, is, one keeps the fear and favor of God in himself; there one struggles again and again with the flesh and keeps guard and crucifies the flesh with his temptation. [Galatians 5: 24] See! Thus it happens that sin does not damage the faithful. And only he will be saved who has such confidence in God. [644: 1] We learn here

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76. Calvin, Institutes, III. iii. 1 (BN IV: 55-56, tr. LCC 20: 592-593): "No one can embrace the grace of the Gospel without betaking himself from the errors of his past life into the right way, and applying his whole effort to the practice of repentance."

that no one will be inclined to better himself from day to day--save he who has all his confidence in God. The watchman guards and warns constantly without intermission while the self-righteous one notes down and makes allowances for his sin as he wishes--he is an idle, Godless man. The believers are faithful on account of the Spirit of God.[77] Now, where God is, there the Good will always be increased and augmented. And although we see a few who call themselves believers in the Word of God and yet are not reformed, then either they are not believers and are play-acting before men while saying they believe,[78] or they are still immature in faith, and will increase and grow until they acquire perfect maturity according to the strength of Christ described in Ephesians Chapter 4. [Ephesians 4: 13] In short, where the love of God is, it is always more efficacious than meretricious bodily love.

For more elucidation and strengthening of faith, Paul says in Romans Chapter 8: "If God is on our side," (that is, if God is favorable to us) "who will be against us?" [Romans 8: 31] And for us to see how God is favorable he says further: "He did not spare his own Son but gave Him for us all. Has He not given us all things with Him? [Romans 8: 32] It is as if he were to say: "How would one reconcile

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77. Cf. De vera et falsa religione commentarius, CR III: 717: 5ff.: "Qui Christo fidunt, novi homines facti sunt." (tr. Jackson III: ). Note that this is more than a juridical or forensic freeing of man from sin, for the Holy Spirit comes to dwell in man. See Calvin, Institutes, III. vi. 1-vii. 10 (BN IV: 146-161, tr. LCC 20: 684-701).

78. Calvin points out that the Christian life is a matter of the heart, not of the tongue: Institutes, III. vi. 4 (BN IV: 149-150, tr. LCC 20: 687-688).

the fact that He has given us the highest treasure, His own Son, and would now reject us?" Thus God teaches us through the mouth of Paul to come to Him cheerfully and faithfully. Are we so simple that we cannot say with God that it is enough only to announce our heartfelt trust in God through Jesus Christ? "He represents us before God with sighs that we could not number." [Romans 8: 26] He is wise enough, for He is the Divine Wisdom and has become ours; therefore, He is our Wisdom. Are we unjust and unpure? Then He is just and pure and has paid for our unrighteousness. Are we unholy and sinful? Then He is holy and He is ours. Are we mortgaged because of sin? Then He is our ransom and redemption.[79] Recognize this: whatever is lacking in us, Christ obtains before God. For, whatever He also is, He is ours.[80] Therefore Paul says in I Corinthians Chapter 1: "He was made or given to us by God, so that He is our Wisdom, our Righteousness, [645: 1] our Holiness and our Salvation." [I Corinthians 1: 30] John says in Book One, Chapter Two: "My Son! I write these things to you that you sin not. But if one has sinned, then we have an advocate or representative with the Father, the righteous Jesus Christ, and He is the reconciliation

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79. That is, are we under an obligation because of sin? "Sind wir umb suenden willen versetzet, so ist er unser rantzung und lossgelt." 644: 30-31. Gwalter: "Nos sub peccatum sumus venundati, ipse autem redemptor est et sufficiens redemptionis precium." 270b: 17-18.

80. Luther makes a similar point in Two Kinds of Righteousness: "Through faith in Christ, therefore, Christ's righteousness becomes our righteousness and all that he has becomes ours; rather he himself becomes ours." WA2: 146 (tr. LW31: 298).

for our sins, and not for ours alone, but for the whole world's sin." [I John 2: 1f.] Here everyone sees that all confidence in God through Christ Jesus is certain.

Now let us hear the words of Christ himself. In Matthew Chapter 11: "Come to me all who labor and are burdened; I will give you rest." [Matthew 11: 28] See. We are truly instructed with such clear doctrine and proof that we should run to God confidently and full of trust in all distress, sorrow and concern, and He will accomplish all things for us through the Lord Christ Jesus. Therefore, all who teach coming to God through another mediator teach against God;[81] for, He calls us to Himself. Indeed, He says in John Chapter 10: "Whoever enters through another way than me is a thief and a murderer." [John 10: 1] Again: "No man may come to the Father but through me." [John 14: 6] Also in I Timothy Chapter 2 He is the only mediator: "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men--Jesus Christ." [I Timothey 2: 5] What can all men bring forward against this Word of God? Indeed I can bring nothing before God; I am foolish, sinful, evil and unrighteous. Do you not hear God saying that Christ is our Wisdom, Innocence, Beauty, Righteousness and Redemption? Do you not hear that He calls us if we are heavily laden? Indeed, I must have another mediator, for I cannot come to God in a just manner. Do you not hear that no one

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81. This point is indicative of Zwingli's debt to Erasmus, and is the foundation of Zwingli's contrast of true and false religion. See above, pp. 19-22.

but Christ Jesus alone can be our mediator?[82] Indeed, I must have an intercessor.[83] Do you not hear that Christ does everything? You err in that you still do not recognize Him, for you do not trust yourself to Him as to a father and yet you call Him Father. But you reckon Him a tyrant and a cruel oppressor. Therefore, all who teach that one cannot come to God without a different mediator insult God, falsify to Him His Word, and drive away the believing hearts from our merciful God and Father. These are the actual, true anti-Christs. For, everything they should ascribe to and attribute to Jesus Christ, our Savior, they take away from Him and give it wrongly and falsely to another creature--without any scriptural foundation, against the clear Word of God.

In short, here no one should let himself be led into error so as to seek grace from anyone but God Himself. For this reason, we have the clear Word of God.[84] Whoever does not believe this is not a Christian. The pure faith cannot tolerate one's seeking another solace than the spouse of the believing soul: God.

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82. See Augustine, Against Two Letters of the Pelagians, III. v. 15 (MPL44: 599, tr. NPNF V: 409). Aquinas, ST 3a. 26. 1 (tr. B50: 206-211). Calvin devotes a major portion of Book Two of the Institutes, entitled "The Knowledge of God the Redeemer in Christ," to a discussion of Christ as mediator. See especially chapters xii-xvii (BN III: 437-515, tr. LCC 20: 464-534). Zwingli often discusses Christ as mediator. For example see Auslegung des 19. Artikels. CR II: 157: 15-166: 8.

83. "Ja, ich muoss ein fuersprechen han." 645: 27.

84. This statement is a reiteration of a basic Zwinglian theme discussed in his sermon Of the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God. See above, pp. 67-76. For Calvin, the Word of God supports faith. Institutes, III. ii. 31 (BN IV: 40-42, tr. LCC 20: 578).

## [6] Concerning the Abolition of the Law[85]

Many speak regarding abolition of the Law in a wholly stupid fashion.[86] As a result, the stupid or, actually, wanton persons speak so arrogantly that it is an insult to God. Therefore, as promised above, I will here discuss the abolition of the Law.[87]

Christ speaks in Luke Chapter 16: "The Law and the prophets lasted until John. From that time the Kingdom of God was preached and everyone forces his way in strongly. However, it is easier for Heaven and earth to pass away than that a single letter or period of the Law can fall." [Luke 16: 16f.] First, we see that the Law lasted only until John; second that no letter nor period may fall from the Law. Although these two meanings appear to us to be contrary to one another, we will see that they were purposely spoken and placed together in the mouth of God Himself. We need not point out how the ceremonies

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85. "Von abthuon des gsatztes." 646: 11. Prof. Potter suggests an alternate rendering: "Concerning the Overthrow of the Law." This may be more accurate, for the Law is not actually abolished, but only in effect overthrown. Gwalter renders the phrase, "De Abrogatione Legis," 271: 26. This carries with it the notion of the repeal of of the Law. This is a vivid illustration of the difficulties involved in translating Zwingli, even where the text is relatively straightforward.

86. This is another reference to the radical element. It will be remembered that Zwingli had faced this problem earlier in his sermon, Of Divine and Human Righteousness. See above, pp. 100ff.

87. See Calvin, Institutes, II. vii. 14-17 (BN III: 339-343, tr. LCC 20: 362-366), for a discussion of the abrogation of the Law as the liberation of the conscience and the discontinuance of the ancient ceremonies.

of the Old Testament, that is, the external sacrifice, washing, using incense, burnings, have been abolished together with the costumes, vessels, form of the temple, etc.; for, these things were only a type for the Christian. Therefore, when Christ came they fell as a shadow disappears in the light.[88] Rather, one must say here how the Law that concerns the inner man is abolished, such as "You shall love God with the whole heart, soul, mind, and power" [Matthew 22: 37] and "You shall love your neighbor as [647: 1] you love yourself." [Matthew 22: 39] If this Law were abolished then faith, which is nothing but constant depending on God, would be abolished also.

Therefore, pay attention to the following:

The Law is good itself,[89] for it shows the Will of God, as said before. Yet, it kills us. Not that the Law kills us by itself, but that we learn from the Law that if we do not follow it we deserve death. Thus, in II Corinthians Chapter 3 and Romans Chapter 7, the letter of the Law kills us. [II Corinthians 3: 6; Romans 7: 10] All men learn in the law "You should love God with all your power" [Matthew 2: 37] that they deserve death; for, there is no one who does not either love things more than God or forget God most of the time. Therefore, everyone perceives he is easily damned according to the righteousness of

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88. Calvin writes in Institutes, II. vii. 16, that Christ has fulfilled the ceremonies as their true substance. (BN III: 341, tr. LCC 20: 364-365). Luther in the Lectures on Genesis, contrasts the external promises as a shell with Christ who is the essential part of the nut. WA42: 654 (tr. LW3: 149).

89. Gwalter: "Lex per se bona et sancta est." 271b: 8.

God. If, however, Christ does enough before God Himself (for He is our righteousness) then we are saved from the Law, that is, we are freed so that the Law cannot kill us.[90] Nevertheless, the Law remains firm for eternity. The Law damned all men until Christ came (something Christ attributed to John out of modesty). For, there came no one to pay our debt for us when we deserved death. Hence, this speech of Christ is like His saying, "The prophets have previously spoken of my coming and my nature. This lasted until John, in whom, and in me, everything is fulfilled that had been previously only intimated. The Law made all men worthy of death. However, after John preached that I was the Savior, everyone who has faith in me could not be brought to death; for, I am payment and salvation." Nevertheless, as far as the Law concerns the inner man it is valid eternally.[91] This will be made clear by an example: "You shall not steal" [Exodus 20: 15] is an eternal commandment. Yet, if one has stolen, and you save him from the gallows before the judge, he is now saved from the Law, that is, from the punishment of the Law. Nevertheless, he is not saved so that in the future, contrary to the Law, he is permitted to steal. And, although one were saved from the gallows as often as he stole, he would

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90. Calvin, Institutes, III. xi. 23 (BN IV: 206-207, tr. LCC 20: 753-754): "We are justified before God solely by the intercession of Christ's righteousness."

91. This statement is similar to Calvin's understanding of the third use of the Law. See Calvin, Institutes, III. xix. 2 (BN IV: 283, tr. LCC 20: 834-835). However, the following discussion shows Zwingli does not hold to the third use of the Law.

never be made free to ignore the Law. [648: 1] Thus, although Christ has paid for our sin in eternity, the Law stands firm in every place nonetheless. But, if we trust in Christ, we cannot be damned by the Law. This is one part of the abolition of the Law: that we are saved from the penalty of the Law if we trust in the Lord Jesus Christ, our Savior.

In another instance the Law was removed solely from the godly; indeed, according to I Timothy Chapter 1, it was never given to them. [I Timothy 1: 9] Who is called pious in the Scripture? Not he who does not sin, for none is without sin. [I John 1: 8] Rather, it is he who is faithful as the Scripture states in Habakkuk Chapter 2 and Romans Chapter 1: "The faithful shall live in faith."[92] [Habakkuk 2: 4; Romans 1: 17] He alone is living who knows himself dead and powerless and trusts the grace of God alone. God now lives in him; he is dead. He alone is pious or righteous who recognizes his unrighteousness and trusts himself solely to the righteous Jesus Christ.[93] Then what Paul teaches in Galatians Chapter 2 will happen: "I have died to the Law through the Law, so that I live for God. I am crucified with Christ, but I no longer live; rather, Christ lives in me. For although I now

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92. "Der gloebig wirt im glouben leben." 648: 10.

93. Luther, Lectures on Romans. WA56: 158 (tr. LCC 15: 4). Two Kinds of Righteousness. WA2: 146 (tr. LW31: 298): "Through faith in Christ, therefore, Christ's righteousness becomes our righteousness and all that he has becomes ours; rather, he himself becomes ours." A similar theme is found in the Lectures on Galatians: "We are pronounced righteous and are saved solely by faith in Christ." WA40/1: 355 (tr. LW26: 223).

live in the body, I live in faith and trust of the Son of God." [Galatians 2: 19]

How can one die to the Law through the Law? Answer: As has been said often before, he who considers the Law exactly finds it is impossible for him to keep it and fulfill it. He further despairs of attaining salvation because of his works, and comes to the point where he surrenders himself solely to the grace of God. Now he is in the grace of God, and through recognition of the Law is dead to the Law; [648: 25] therefore, he now lives in sole trust in the grace of God. He is now crucified with Christ: as he has despaired in himself, he has died to himself. He lives no more, for he has discovered himself dead to the Law. However, that he lives (that is, the favor of God has confidence and certainty) means that he has placed all his trust through faith in Jesus Christ. He now lives in Christ, and Christ lives in him. Such faith is not the result of human reason nor power, but of the hand and power of God.[94] Notice who is the believer who

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94. Augustine argues that if faith itself were not a gift of God it would not make sense to pray that those may believe who do not yet believe. De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, 29 (MPL44: 898, tr. NPNF V: 455-456). Also see De Praedestinatione Sanctorum, 3 (MPL44: 961, tr. NPNF V: 499). Thomas writes that it is "necessary for faith to be caused in us by grace." SCG III. clii. 1 (tr. TCF III/2: 235). In Temporal Authority, Luther writes, "For faith ... is a work of God in the spirit, not something which outward authority should compel or create." WA11: 264 (tr. LW45: 108). In the Preface to Romans Luther writes, "Faith, however, is a divine work in us which changes us and makes us to be born anew of God." WA, DB7: 11 (tr. LW35: 370). Calvin, speaking of Paul's words in II Thess. 1: 11, says, "Thus he denies that man himself initiates faith, and not satisfied with this, he adds that it is a manifestation of God's power." Institutes, III. ii. 35 (BN IV: 46, tr. LCC 20: 583). Menno Simons concurs in Foundation of Christian Doctrine: "There is none that can glory in himself touching this faith, for it is the gift of God." (tr. MS: 116).

needs no Law;[95] but all his life sees only Christ who lives in him and is his consolation--even as a righteous, thankful [649: 1] man would see the benefactor of his life and necessities in all his conduct and behavior. According to Romans Chapter 8, "Whoever has such a Spirit of Christ, is His." [Romans 8: 9] And, although we know that we are still far from perfection; nevertheless, we still find that the measure of goodness grows in us according to the measure of faith and confidence in Christ.[96] And since faith is forever tested, so also does the flesh forever bear its fruits. We can be disgusted with these fruits only in the firmness of faith, which is nothing but our union with God through constant confidence in and running to Him.[97] Those who are now in faith, that is,

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95. "A Christian, properly defined, is free of all laws and is subject to nothing, internally or externally." Luther, Lectures on Galatians. WA40/1: 235 (tr. LW26: 134).

96. Luther maintains that the justified man "is in the very movement or journey toward righteousness." The Disputation Concerning Justification. WA39/1: 83 (tr. LW34: 152). That is, we only are considered righteous for Christ's sake. See Ibid. WA39/1: 83 (LW34: 153). Compare this notion of Zwingli and Calvin, above, note 77.

97. Calvin defines faith as "a firm and certain knowledge of God's benevolence toward us, founded upon the truth of the freely given promise in Christ, both revealed to our minds and sealed upon our hearts through the Holy Spirit." Institutes, III. ii. 7 (BN IV: 15-16, tr. LCC 20: 551). In the transition from Book Two to Three of the Institutes, Calvin points to the union with Christ, which allows man to enjoy the benefits of the Redeemer, as the result of faith: "We must now examine this question. How do we receive those benefits which the Father bestowed on his only-begotten Son--not for Christ's own private use, but that he might enrich poor and needy men? First, we must understand that as long as Christ remains outside of us, and we are separated from him, all that he has suffered and done for the salvation of the human race remains useless and of no value for us. Therefore, to share with us what he has received from the Father, he had to become ours and to dwell within us. ... All that he possesses is nothing to us until we grow into one body with him. It is true that we obtain this by faith." III. i. 1 (BN IV: 1, tr. LCC 20: 537).

in the certain confidence of the grace of God, are under the Law no longer, but are under grace. Romans Chapter 6: "Whoever lives therein lives in God, and God in him." [Romans 6: 5] For everything God demands from him who considers himself in the grace of God is sweet, agreeable and pleasant according to the inner man--even if he cannot fulfill it because of weakness. And whatever pleases God pleases him also, even if the flesh cannot follow. For thus has the Law of the Living Spirit freed him from the Law of sin and death.[98] [Romans 8: 2] What is the Law of the Living Spirit? Answer: The leading and instructing God offers out of a true understanding of His Word if we have trusted in Him.[99] According to John Chapter 6 and I John Chapter 2 we may learn this from no one but God. [John 6: 45; I John 2: 27]

Now we have two salvations from the Law: one is from the ceremonies, that is, ceremonial action or church performances.[100] The other is

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98. Luther refers in the Lectures on Genesis to the "Spirit, who kindles faith in the promise and thus frees and saves from sin." WA42: 616 (tr. LW3: 95).

99. Calvin, Institutes, III. ii. 34 (BN IV: 44-45, tr. LCC 20: 581-582): "The Word of God is like the sun, shining upon all those to whom it is proclaimed, but with no effect among the blind. Now, all of us are blind by nature in this respect. Accordingly, it cannot penetrate into our minds unless the Spirit, as the inner teacher, through his illumination, makes entry for it." p. 582.

100. Luther thinks less dimly of ceremonies than Zwingli. In the Lectures on Genesis, he writes: "Outward ceremonies are merely exercises for the unlearned by means of which they are accustomed to the far loftier duties of godliness." WA43: 369 (tr. LW4: 323). This points to a major difference between Zwingli and Luther--and to some extent, Calvin. For Zwingli preferred spiritualistic worship forms; having little faith in ceremonies he saw no necessary reason for outward forms. Luther saw ceremonies from a different perspective. Elsewhere in his Lectures on

from the penalty of our misdeeds. If we have completely trusted in God, we no longer need law. For, since God is Himself, He leads, and as God needs no law, so also do those who live in God need no law--because God leads them. For, where the Spirit of God is, there is freedom.[101] [II Corinthians 3: 17] Thus, he who trusts God is also free from the Law which concerns the inner man. Nevertheless, he does freely and cheerfully all things that [650: 1] are the duty of Christian men. One can recognize those who are free by their fruits. If they are humble, it happens out of the indwelling Divine Spirit; thus was Christ also. Do they care for other men's salvation, so also did Christ--thus must the care also come from Christ alone. If they are patient--the same; for Christ was also patient. If they are peaceful, this too is from God; Christ was also. If they are courageous for the sake of the honor of God, Christ was too. If they are cheerful in calamity for the sake of the honor of God, all this is from God, etc.[102] However,

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Genesis, Luther writes: "It is indeed true that the Holy Spirit alone enlightens hearts and kindles faith, but He does not do this without the outward ministry and without the outward use of the sacraments." WA43: 187 (tr. LW4: 72). Calvin: "Shall no ceremonies then (you will ask) be given to the ignorant to help them in their inexperience? I do not say that. For I feel that this kind of help is very useful to them. I only contend that the means used ought to show Christ, not to hide him. Therefore, God has given us a few ceremonies, not at all irksome, to show Christ present." Institutes, IV. x. 14 (BN V: 176, tr. LCC 21: 1192).

101. Auslegung des 16. Artikels. CR II: 80: 12ff.; 83: 15ff.

102. According to Augustine God is the source of all goodness. God is good in himself. All other good is good by nature of its participation in God, i.e., not of itself and only as God is in it. De Moribus Manichaeorum, iv. 6 (MPL32: 1347, tr. NPNF IV: 70-71).

we find here a great number of false Christians who pass themselves off as if they were free and found edification in God.[103] Yet there is no humility in them, rather they want to become great, rich, or esteemed through their claims. Though they should care for others they care only for themselves. They can bear nothing for the sake of God, but for the sake of their own profit and name they bear all things. They are violent. Their cause is to disunify, struggle, and destroy among all men--even if the cause of the honor of God is seriously harmed thereby. They are learned and courageous in the defense of their deeds, perverse as they are. Yet, for increasing the honor of God and teaching their neighbors in friendly fashion, they are worth nothing--although for a time one must suffer them in peace. And, at the price of small nuisance, if a small temporary gain accrues to them it will not last, etc. However, insofar as these troublemakers judge other men, give in to no weakness, praise their own ingenuity (but are not the master of it), boast that one should kill priests, burn monks and drown nuns (as one should abuse the things of which they believe themselves free), in short, insofar as they embrace at once without investigation all external things, yes, here they are "good" Christians. However, finally, if you judge them by their fruits, you will not find that they have first become Christians within themselves. As a result, the teaching of God will be spoiled and destroyed here by many who are good Christians only as it concerns the body and external appearance. Of course in time one

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103. i.e., the radicals.

must also do away with the abuse of things. But the [651: 1] inner weakness they will not touch upon, although it is to be hoped that as far as they have begun to believe the Word, they will in time allow themselves to be led truly.

In the third place, we Christians are also free from the Law imposed on us for the purpose of making us pious or good. Herein belong all popish laws not grounded on the Word of God: prohibition of foods, commands to chastity, vows, auricular confession, sacrifices, financial payments, indulgences and the whole worthless business. We are also free from the teachings devised by men, such as prayers to the saints, purgatory, images, church decorations, ordering masses, the purchase of vigils and other things, etc.; for, they are not based on the Word of God.[104] The

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104. This basis for rejecting the ceremonies is a frequent Zwinglian theme. An early statement is found in his sermon Concerning Choice and Liberty Respecting Food. See above, pp. 51-54. Luther also affirms the basic principle. For example, see The Freedom of a Christian: "Furthermore, to put aside all kinds of works, even contemplation, meditation, and all that the soul can do, does not help. One thing, and only one thing, is necessary for Christian life, righteousness, and freedom. That one thing is the most holy Word of God, the Gospel of Christ." WA7: 50 (tr. LW31: 345). In a discussion of the ceremonies which have grown up in celebration of the Eucharist, Luther says, "We must be careful to give more heed to the Word of God than to all the thoughts of men and of angels. ... We must be particularly careful to put aside whatever has been added to its original simple institution by the zeal and devotion of men: such things as vestments, ornaments, chants, prayers, organs, candles, and the whole pageantry of outward things." The Babylonian Captivity of the Church. WA6: 512 (tr. LW36: 36). A similar point is made by Calvin: "There is nothing involved, nothing obscure, nothing ambiguous in these words which forbid the church universal to add to or take away anything from God's Word, when the worship of the Lord and precepts of salvation are concerned." Institutes, IV. x. 17 (BN V: 179, tr. LCC 21: 1195). See above, note 100.

foundation of everything is the sole Word of Christ in Matthew Chapter 15: "You honor me in vain if you teach the teachings and commandments of men." [Matthew 15: 9] In short, according to Luke Chapter 16 all teachings of men that are considered good are an abomination before God. [Luke 16: 15]

Finally, on the pretext that they are Christians, some will exempt themselves from obedience to true or temporal government.[105] All these men are the most evil enemies of the teachings of God. For, in addition to acting contrary to the clear Word of God, they also slander the teaching of Christ before men and render it worthless. In the Old Testament [Exodus 18: 21-26] God established the authority that maintains the human community and justice in peace and quiet.[106] In the New,

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105. This is a reference to the radicals' unwillingness to accept the role of the magistracy in the reformation. The Anabaptists posited such a radical separation between this world and the next, or the world of the flesh and the spirit, that they could not accept the magistracy as a legitimate Christian instrument. In fact, a Christian could not even serve as a magistrate. A representative statement is found in the Schleitheim Confession of Faith: "The government magistracy is according to the flesh, but the Christians' is according to the Spirit; their houses and dwelling remain in this world, but the Christians' are in heaven; their citizenship is in this world, but the Christians' citizenship is in heaven; the weapons of their conflict and war are carnal and against the flesh only, but the Christians' weapons are spiritual, against the fortification of the devil. The worldlings are armed with steel and iron, but the Christians are armed with the armor of God, with truth, righteousness, peace, faith, salvation and Word of God." Great Voices of the Reformation, p. 292. A comprehensive analysis of the Anabaptists' position with regard to the state is Hans J. Hillerbrand, "The Anabaptist View of the State," Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. XXXII, (1958), pp. 83-110.

106. Zwingli is building here on his sermon On Divine and Human Righteousness. See above, pp. 100ff. See Calvin, Institutes, IV. xx. 1-22 (BN V: 471-502, tr. LCC 21: 1485-1521). Luther: "Hence, it is certain and clear enough that it is God's will that the temporal sword and law be used for the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the upright." Temporal Authority. WA11: 248 (tr. LW45: 87).

Christ has ordered one's giving to Caesar (which we shall take to mean every government) what one owes to him. [Matthew 22: 21] He also commands this through the mouth of Paul in Romans Chapter 13; read the whole chapter. [Romans 13: 1-14] Through the mouth of Peter, Book One, Chapter Two: "You should be obedient to the government and its agents or chief servants, etc." [I Peter 2: 13-15] In the same chapter, "You should not make Christian freedom a pretext for evil, etc. Fear God and hold the rulers in honor, etc." [I Peter 2: 16-17] In Hebrews Chapter 13: "Be obedient to your superiors, etc." [Hebrews 13: 17] The witness is sufficiently clear that we are to be obedient by divine command to the government, which carries the sword.[107] However, a government shall command nothing [652: 1] that is against the honor of God and His Word, or the true Christian will say, "One must be more obedient to God than men." [Acts 4: 19; 5: 29] Therefore, it is appropriate for the government not to demand anything contrary to the Word of God if it is to be truly Christian.[108]

Now all those who in this time extricate themselves from all

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107. Luther prefers obedience in all cases to insurrection. See Lectures on Genesis, WA43: 191, 192 (tr. LW4: 78, 79), and Sincere Admonition, WA8: 680 (tr. LW45: 62-63).

108. A contrast with Luther is evident here; for, he would never allow one to consider a government as Christian. See Temporal Authority, WA11: 249-251, 262, 267-268 (tr. LW45: 89-91, 105, 113), and Lectures on Genesis, WA42: 79 (tr. LW1: 104). A radical statement by Luther which is illustrative of this view is found in his Sermon on the Mount: "Of course, a prince can be a Christian, but he must not rule as a Christian; and insofar as he does rule, his name is not "Christian" but "prince." The person is indeed a Christian, but his office or his princedom does not involve his Christianity." WA32: 440 (tr. LW21: 170).

obligations of rent or tithes and other just obligations break the Commandment "You shall not steal."[109] [Exodus 20: 15] For in some places these have become so firm a custom that each piece of land on which a tithe is to be paid sells for much less; one must do away with the misuse of tithes or the whole order will founder.[110] These thieves are more evil than others because they make the name Christian a pretext for their theft. If it should come to the point that under Christians a righteous man does not give what is due, thereby not being obedient to the government, it would then be better to live with the Turks than with such a people. One cannot make a greater blasphemy of God than by protecting such wickedness in His name. See, let every government also pay attention to abolishing what is fraudulent, usurious and dangerous in tributes. For God has given the sword into the government's hand, not so that it may fight for the sake of its own profit, but that it may protect the good and punish the evil. [652: 22] Otherwise, God will find a better way to destroy the government's commands even as the priests' commands.

The offenders sin also against the priests; for, private individuals have presumed to revile them, to despoil them, to beat them to death. All this is unchristian. The matter should be handled in this fashion:

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109. See above, p. 101. Cf. Thomas, ST 2a2ae. 87. 1 (tr. B39: 138-145).

110. The Council called for an end to the unrest over tithes on June 7, 1525. See Bullinger I, pp. 265ff. The Council called for a report based on a study of the issue by Zwingli on July 1, 1525. Egli, Actensammlung, No. 763. The Council brought an end to the abuse of the tithes on August 14, 1525. Egli, Actensammlung, No. 799.

they are to be advised of their errors and are to do away with them. Let them die in peace as they have come. In this way lawful obligation will be fulfilled; for our, that is, the temporal government, has given them the promise that must be kept to those who are established on it, but no more may be established.[111] If, however, there are some stiff-necked ones that will not yield to the Word of God [653: 1] and yet cannot bring forward contrary evidence, the government, not private individuals, shall deal with these. This will best be put in order according to Matthew Chapter 18 and Deuteronomy Chapter 13. In short, the ruthless tyrants who can do nothing but rob and steal are so pernicious that when they presume to gloss it over with the name of Christ, it would be better to have as many Turks in their place. The supercilious priests who want to accomplish everything with their arrogance and authority are just as pernicious. Therefore, the government must act earnestly lest the wantonness of both godless parties prove detrimental to the honor of God. In short, every Christian should give to everyone what is his due. [Romans 13: 7] That is a duty which a government should recognize and consider as obligation. Let the government really see that it prohibits or changes the duties which are unjust before God. And if the number of priests be limited to the essential number, the goods they now possess still do not belong to you or to them but

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111. For Zwingli's treatment of the orders, see Auslegung des 27. Artikels, CR II: 253: 16-261: 13 (tr. H. Wayne Pipkin, "Zwingli, the Laity and the Orders," Hartford Quarterly, Vol. VIII, No. 2, (1968), pp. 32-41).

to the poor, and that according to the decree of the government and each congregation.[112] Herein is not now the place to write without stopping. Insofar as a preacher of God's Word has a clear, simple eye he will not proceed dangerously.[113]

Everyone knows that this Short Instruction, delivered for the unlearned, may be set aside wherever it does not probe the Scriptures diligently, remaining therein day and night, and finally wherever it does not show a disposition to build the true Jerusalem. God will abundantly offer those the Word of Truth who seek the honor of God and advantage for the soul, as it is their duty, and see not the temporal but the eternal.[114] He makes the shepherd Amos into a preaching prophet. [Amos 1: 1] Therefore they ought to be rich in the Word of God and the Gospel, which may not be understood without the Law. They should rightly teach how one knowing good and evil may come to God. There also are many recalcitrant ones who must be sharply reprimanded. [654: 1] They glorify themselves as being free of the Law and yet they consider harder laws necessary in order to be thought Christians; and, in general, they teach which works are most pleasing to God, namely,

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112. For a discussion of Zwingli's conception of the true church, the Volkskirche, and the relation of the government to the church, see Leonhard von Muralt, "Zwingli als Sozialpolitiker," Zwingliana, Vol. V, (1931), pp. 52-72.

113. "wirt er nit gevarlich faren." 653: 19-20.

114. Reference should be made to the Erasmian influence on Zwingli regarding corporeal vs. spiritual religion. See above, p. 22.

what He teaches in Matthew Chapters 5-7 and John Chapters 13-17.[115] They also surely and strictly cast off superfluous games, eating, clothing, swearing, fighting, quarrels and avarice. There are beasts enough whom we can fight today without needing the preaching either of fables or sophistical arguments in the pulpit.

So much for the instruction of the doctrine of God.

## [7] Concerning Images[116]

Concerning images: it is reasonable for everyone to teach, as has been established, that images are forbidden by God--so that, instructed and strengthened, the unlearned and weak ones may soon accept

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115. Zwingli is again referring to the radicals. The Anabaptists and other radicals emphasized the holy life and Christian discipleship characterized by obedience to the commands of Christ. With such an understanding, the Sermon on the Mount could very easily become a book of law for the Christian. For example, see The Church of God by Dietrich Philips (tr. Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers, pp. 228-260). In one vivid illustration Philips remarks that "The sixth ordinance which Christ has instituted for his congregation is the keeping of all his commandments." p. 250. He continues on to list several specific commandments which the Christian must follow, many of which come from the Sermon on the Mount, pp. 250-251. Another example of this Christian legalism is Menno Simons. For example, Menno remarks in The New Birth, "If your faith is as you say, why do you not do the things He has commanded you in His Word? His commandment is, Repent and keep the commandments." (tr. MS: 96) An extensive treatment of this matter in Menno will be found in Willis M. Stoesz, "The New Creature: Menno Simons' Understanding of the Christian Faith," Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. XXXIX, (1965), pp. 5-24. Stoesz remarks that, for Menno, "the extent of obedience is the measure of faith, for it indicates the extent to which the grace and love of God towards one has been understood; and therefore the measure of obedience is the measure of the resulting love." pp. 18-19. Luther also accuses the radicals of advocating works-righteousness. See Lectures on Galatians, WA40/1: 49 (tr. LW26: 9).

116. Calvin, Institutes, I. xi-xii. 3 (BN III: 88-108, tr. LCC 20: 99-120).

what should be done with the images. For this purpose, the little book that recently came out, On the Abolition of Images,[117] will serve well; for, it has much scriptural evidence. Whoever does not have this, let him read the following passages:

> Exodus 20: 23 (the same to the end of the silver idols); Exodus 34: 12-17; Leviticus 19: 4; Leviticus 26: 1; Deuteronomy 4: 3, 23-28; Deuteronomy 5: 7-9; I Samuel 7: 3-6; Numbers 25: 4f.; Deuteronomy 7: 5, 25f.; Deuteronomy 11: 16f.; Deuteronomy 13: 6-18; Deuteronomy 27: 15; Joshua 24: 23; Judges 10: 6-16; Psalm 96: 5; Psalm 115: 4-8; Isaiah 42: 17; Isaiah 44: 9-20; Jeremiah 10: 2-16; Jeremiah 13: 10; Ezekiel 14; Ezekiel 6; Micah 1: 5-7; Habakkuk 2: 18f.; II Kings 18: 4, 33-35; II Kings 10: 15-30; II Kings 23: 4-23; II Chronicles 31: 1-7; I Corinthians 5: 10f.; Acts 15: 20, 29; I Corinthians 8: 4f.; I Corinthians 10: 19-21; I Corinthians 12: 2; Galatians 5: 1, 20; I Thessalonians 1: 9; I Peter 4: 3; I John 5: 21.

Of these passages noted, some forbid images or idols, some ridicule them, and some teach how one should abolish them. At the same time, however, one is to proceed carefully so that evil does not result.[118] So that Christian men may be instructed rightly, one

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117. Ein urtheil gottes unsers eegemahels, wie man sich mit allen goetzen und bildnussen halten sol, uss goettlicher gschrifft gezogen. Published at Zurich in 1523 by Christopher Froschauer. See Charles Garside, Jr., "Ludwig Haetzer's Pamphlet Against Images: a Critical Study," Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. XXIV, (1960), pp. 20-36. Haetzer, a native of Zurich, was the secretary of the Second Zurich Disputation. He later became an anti-trinitarian. See above, p. 119.

118. Zwingli's deliberate speed is a characteristic of his reform. See above, pp. 111-118, 127-128. Zwingli's radical opponents were unwilling to wait. An example of the Anabaptists' justification for immediate action is "An Early Anabaptist Tract on Hermeneutics," Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. XLII, (1968), pp. 26-44: "Christ will also cleanse his threshing-floor; he already has His fan in his hand. Therefore let him who is able, flee under the mighty hand of God, and let him accept discipline, and no longer withstand the truth, for it is known." p. 44. See Calvin, Institutes, III. xix. 10-13 (BN IV: 289-293, tr. LCC 20: 842-846); IV. x. 22 (BN V: 184-185, tr. LCC 21: 1200-1201).

should not show the images any honor, then one can have better patience until the weak are also enlightened--in order that images may be abolished with concord. Some passages boast that they have got rid of images.

Here some will disagree: "These commands concern only Jews and not Christians." These one shall answer thus: These two sections, "You shall have no alien gods"[119] [Exodus 20: 3] and "You shall have no image or likeness" [Exodus 20: 4], protect and explain the first Commandment, "You should trust in one God."[120] Refer to God's statement in Deuteronomy Chapter 5: "I am your Lord God, who has led you out of Egypt, etc." [Deuteronomy 5: 6] Observe that this is the first Commandment, wherein God has set Himself forth as our God. Now he forbids the things which would lead us away from Him and says, "You shall have no other God after me or in my sight." [Deuteronomy 5: 7] And that is a way through which the children of Israel were often misled--and we Christians the same. For, he who should seek faith solely in God and yet has sought help and confidence from a creature has made a foreign

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119. "Du solt nit froembd goett haben." 655: 12. The editors of the critical text point out earlier that "Als Pluralis von 'gott' braucht Zwingli meist ohne Unterschied 'goett' oder 'goette' und 'goetter'." CR I: 173n.7. Compare the following sentence: "Du solt in einen got vertruwen." 655: 14-15.

120. There is a similar relation by Calvin of the Second to the First Commandment: "Therefore in the law, after having claimed for himself alone the glory of deity, when he would teach what worship he approves or repudiates, God soon adds, 'You shall not make for yourself a graven image, nor any likeness' [Ex. 20: 4]. By these words he restrains our waywardness from trying to represent him by any visible images, and briefly enumerates all those forms by which superstition long ago began to turn his truth into falsehood." Institutes, I. xi. 1 (BN III: 88, tr. LCC 20: 100).

god for himself. The one God is the only God in whom man can have refuge. Hence, one thing that may draw us from God: foreign gods. The other thing that may lead us away is images. For that reason, God forbids them first: "You shall make no carved image, nor likeness or copy of the things which are in Heaven, on the earth or in the water." [Deuteronomy 5: 8] Notice that under no circumstances shall one make an image. And if we must sometimes constantly have an image before us, as happened to Daniel and others in Daniel Chapter 3, then he says [Deuteronomy 5: 9]: "You shall give them no honor--neither genuflecting bowing nor proffering honor (for that is what the word schahah means), and also show them no service. The Latin words[121] also sufficiently point this out: "You shall not pray to them; also show them no honor." If one has them in a church, [656: 1] then one has already given them honor. And, if one says "I do not worship them; they teach and admonish me," that is all a fable. God does not speak here of worship; that we understand perfectly well. For He well knows that no wise man worships an image. However, He forbids here all manifestations of honor,[122] so

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121. i.e., the Vulgate's rendering of Deuteronomy 5: 9.

122. In Roman Catholic theology a distinction is made between honor given to creatures and to God. Dulia is the honor and reverence that may be properly given to a creature. Latria is the honor and reverence due only to God. The cult of latria is defined by Thomas: "Man's mind ought to be stimulated so that he will think that there is but one highest principle of things by means of his offering something to this principle which is offered to none other. This we call the cult of latria." SCG III. cxx. 6 (tr. TCF III/2: 135). "The cult of latria is due to the one, highest God only." SCG III. cxx. 23 (tr. TCF III/2: 140). Therefore, no latria is permissible for images. SCG III. cxx. 17-19 (tr. TCF III/2: 139). Zwingli, on the other hand, allowed neither latria nor dulia to be directed toward images.

that no one may genuflect, bow, kneel, light candles or burn incense before them. If one is not honoring them, then what are they doing on the altar? Indeed, one is honoring them no less than pagans do their images of idols when they call them by the names of idols.[123] Thus have we also done. We name the pieces of wood with the names of the blessed. One piece of wood we name Our Lady and the Mother of God, the other we name St. Nicholas, etc.[124] And those who do this cry that we want to destroy the honor of the saints; but, if they call idols by saints' names they are already dishonoring the saints.

Moreover, it is also false that the idols teach us; we should be taught solely by the Word of God.[125] Instead, the idle priests, who should have taught us unceasingly, have painted the teachings on the walls for us. And we poor simple people have therewith been deprived of teaching and have fallen before the images, and have honored them.

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123. Calvin, Institutes, I. xii. 3 (BN III: 107-108, tr. LCC 20: 120).

124. Probably St. Nicholas of Bari (6th century), one of the most revered and most popular of saints. He is protector of children in the West as well as the patron of Greece, Sicily and Lorraine. In the Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland St. Nicholas was the giver of presents on his feast day, December 6. Zwingli may have been referring to Nicholas of Fluee, 1417-1487, the remarkable hermit from Unterwalden who saved the Confederacy from disruption in 1481. Although Brother Claus was not canonized until 1947, a cult of Nicholas has existed without interruption since his death. See T. Boas, "St. Nicholas of Fluee," New Catholic Encyclopedia, X: 452-453. St. Nicholas of Fluee has the distinction of being venerated by Catholics and honored by Protestants.

125. Calvin: "Whatever men learn of God from images is futile, indeed false." Institutes, I. xi. 5 (BN III: 93, tr. LCC 20: 105).

We have begun to seek from creatures what we should have sought only from God. [656: 21] The priests should often have taught us, but they omitted teaching and held the Mass frequently instead. As a result, not only we simple ones have not understood, but also the greater part of them have understood even less, until it has come to the point that by far the majority of Christian men have not known the vital points concerning the salvation of man. Indeed, with their fables of the saints, some have unmercifully turned us from the True God to the creature.[126]

But if one objects that images are not forbidden in the New Testament, this also is false. For, where one finds in the New Testament "idolum" or "simulachrum", there should one read in German "bilder" [images] or "glychnussen" [likenesses]. Let no one be mistaken if he finds in the newly published New Testament in the designated passages these words [657: 1]: "abgot" [idol] or "froembde goett" [foreign gods];[127]

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126. "mit iren fablen von den heyligen vom waren got an die creatur gewendt." 656: 26-27. Gwalter: "ut a deo vero et omnipotenti abstractos creaturis adducere non non dubitarine." 275b: 4-5. Note again the familiar theme from Erasmus. See above, p. 22. Luther, Lectures on Romans, WA56: 362 (tr. LCC 15: 226): "Man, I say, turns all of them [physical goods] to himself, seeks his own good in them, and horribly makes an idol out of them. This he puts in place of the true God." Calvin calls false worship that worship according to the commands and precepts of men in that it exalts the will of the creature over the Creator. Institutes, IV. x. 24 (BN V: 187-188, tr. LCC 21: 1203): "There religion (if it still deserves to be called religion) is defiled with more, and more senseless, superstitions than ever any paganism was."

127. An edition of Luther's German New Testament had been published in Basel by Adam Petri in December, 1522. CR I: 562n.2.

"Idolon, hemoeon," [sic] says Hesychius, "is the Latin 'simulachrum';" in German: a "bild" or "glychnus".[128] Now compare I John Chapter 5: "Dear Children, protect yourselves from images!" [I John 5: 21] and other passages and see therefore whether or not images are also forbidden in the New Testament. Acts Chapter 15 is advice by the Christians at Jerusalem that Christians should protect themselves from the defilement caused by images. [Acts 15: 20]

On the basis of this if we were to say, "The saints' images show us what they have suffered and done that we also are to do," one should ask us if our works are righteous. We must always say: if they are done in faith where the love of God also is, then they are pleasing to God according to I Corinthians Chapter 13. One asks us further: on what basis have the saints done such? We will say: out of true faith. Now let someone show us where they have copied or painted this faith;[129] we cannot show it save in their hearts. Therefore it

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128. Compare the statement by Haetzer: "It is also to be observed that this word idolon which in Latin is called simulacrum is, in German, called a portrait or likeness. Therefore, wherever in Scripture the idols are forbidden, not only are the false gods, but also the portraits and likenesses forbidden. In that, however, the Papists wrongly think idolon to mean a false god. But it is an image or likeness, too. And if the false gods are especially forbidden, so, too, are the images especially forbidden wherever one finds idolum." Charles Garside, Jr., "Ludwig Haetzer's Pamphlet," p. 32. According to the editors of the CR text, Hesychius records the following in his lexicon: εἴδωλον· ὁμοίωμα, σημεῖον χαρακτηριστικὸν σκιοειδές. 657: n. 1.

129. "Uss warem glouben." 657: 14-15. Gwalter: "Non poterunt autem hic quicquam aliud quam unicam fidem producere." 275b: 27-28.

must always follow that we also must learn that faith is necessary in our hearts if we want to do anything pleasing to God. This we cannot learn from walls but only from the gracious nurturing of God out of His own Word.[130] Note. We learn here that the image leads only to external weakness[131] and cannot make the heart faithful. Externally, we see clearly what the saints have done, but images cannot give us the faith wherein all things must come to pass. If we now have clear and undefiled faith, see how we ridicule ourselves for having had an unknowing, weak faith wherein we imagined images admonish us--when everything is vain without faith.

Here one still objects: "Did it not seem fitting for someone to paint a face in his house, or to carve or represent figures with colors? In the Old Testament we see two cherubim and woven or embroidered cloths with the cherubim and bronze serpents, and buttons, lilies and vessels in the lamps, and garlands on the ephod. [658: 1] Also in I Kings Chapter 6 Solomon let them make cherubim, palm trees and numbers of paintings in the temple that were so beautiful they appeared to grow out of the walls. Therefore it is without doubt also fitting that we

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130. Gwalter: "Sola enim solius dei gratia nos intrinsecus trahens, et verbi luce illuminans hanc tribuere solet." 275b: 34-35. Luther posits the necessity of the Word: "For these two are correlative; there can be neither faith nor worship of God where there is no Word, and wherever the Word is, there must be some who believe. Where then, these two are, there follows the third, namely the cross and mortification." Lectures on Genesis. WA43: 208 (tr. LW4: 101).

131. "usswendige bloedigheit." 657: 21.

have such paintings or images." Answer: this is certain: that God has only forbidden all forms and images, lest one begin to honor anything or render honor to any creature in addition to Him, as one can well understand in Deuteronomy Chapter 4 [Deuteronomy 4: 1-28]. Therefore we may well note that such forms that never can be taken as God and Helper such as paintings, lions' heads, wings and the like are not forbidden. For, Solomon would never have let such trees and paintings be made in the temple, nor would have God ordered the making of the lamps had they produced the danger of idolatry. However, with regard to the images and the paintings, which we have in places of worship, it is evident that they have created the danger of idolatry.[132] Therefore, we may leave them there no longer--nor in your chamber, market place, or anywhere that anyone shows them honor. Especially are they intolerable in the churches, for everything we have there is holy to us. Where anyone would have them outside the church as a representation of historical events without instruction for veneration, they may be tolerated.[133] But, whenever one begins to bow before them and to give them honor, then they are to be tolerated nowhere on earth. For, they will soon become either an aid to idolatry, or idolatry itself.

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132. Referring to the use of the cherubim as justification for images, Calvin remarks, "It is perfectly clear that those who try to defend images of God and the saints with the example of those cherubim are raving madmen." Institutes, I. xi. 3 (BN III: 91, tr. LCC 20: 102).

133. A similar point is made by Calvin. Institutes, I. xi. 12 (BN III: 100-101, tr. LCC 20: 112).

## [8] Concerning the Mass

If one wants to speak of the Mass, he should first point out to keep anyone from being offended, that he does not want to abolish or belittle the body and blood of Christ, or to teach that it is nothing--but that the Mass has a different purpose from that of eating or drinking the body and blood of Christ. That is to say it has always been taught that the laity and priests eat the same thing when they eat the body and blood of Christ. This is true, for Christ made only one order and arrangement. Nonetheless, for several hundred years the erring priests have made it a sacrifice--which it is not.[134] No layman considers it anything but food for the soul.[135] [659: 1] It is that, and God instituted it for that and nothing else, as will clearly be shown later. Therefore, it cannot be anything else. Here one must point out what people have meant in calling it a sacrifice and what a sacrifice is.[136]

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134. For a helpful summary treatment of the origin of the eucharistic sacrifice, see Hermann Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 18-22.

135. Cf. Augustine, Enarrationes, Ps. 49: 8 (MPL36: 549, tr. NPNF VIII: 485-486): "Although it is needful that this be visibly celebrated, yet it must be spiritually understood." Zwingli makes the point in De canone missae that Christ, sacrificed once, is food for our souls under the form of the bread and wine: "Quo fit, ut sicut filium tuum pro nobis semel oblatum patri reconciliasse credimus, ita quoque firmiter credamus eundem sese nobis animae cibum sub speciebus panis et vini praebuisse, ut liberalis facti memoria nunquam aboleretur." CR II: 606: 38-41.

136. Calvin considers two types of sacrifice: one of thanksgiving, and the other of expiation, intended to appease God's wrath. Institutes, IV. xviii. 13 (BN V: 428-429, tr. LCC 21: 1441-1442).

In short, the word "sacrifice" in the Old Testament stands for a gift that one has brought to God. The priest took the gift, lifted it onto the altar and burned it, or raised it up, or moved it here and there--in accordance with the type of sacrifice. This was done for the purification of one's sin. Now, all this was but an image saying that Christ, the True Priest, would come, and would offer for the sins of all the world not an animal nor an imperfect sacrifice, but a pure unstained sacrifice.[137] No man could have been found to do this except Christ Himself. Therefore He offered up Himself as He suffered the death on the Cross for us. By this one death He purified and paid for the sins of the whole world for eternity. This true meaning one finds grounded in the Letter to the Hebrews, Chapters Six to Ten. Now, since Christ has suffered only once the death on the cross, thus was He also sacrificed only once. His dying is His sacrifice for us, and His sacrifice is His dying. His sacrifice is the purification of our sin and His death is also the purification of our sin. Therefore, as in Romans Chapter 6 He has died only once [Romans 6: 10], so also has He suffered death only once--is sacrificed only once. And therefore, where one finds in the Scripture that Christ's death has taken away our sin and finds in addition that His sacrifice has taken away our sin, as Colossians 1: [22] says, then they all together have only one

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137. A similar point is made by Luther in his Lectures on Genesis. WA43: 231, 363 (tr. LW4: 133, 316).

meaning, namely, that Christ has saved us and paid for our sin, that He has given and sacrificed Himself for us in the death of the cross. As He died only once, thus was He sacrificed only once.

However, the priests have asserted in response that they have sacrificed Christ for other men.[138] This they have found in themselves without foundation in the Word of God. As a result there arise two serious blasphemies of God--and two weaknesses.[139] [660: 1]

The first blasphemy of God is the obscuring of the great value and treasure of the sufferings of Christ.[140] Christ, who is True God and man, is so dear, high and valuable, that His life sacrificed only once is rich and dear enough to pay for all the world's sin for eternity; for, He is eternal God. His suffering is also unceasingly fruitful for eternity. If, now, the priests suggest that they sacrifice for sin, then that must mean that Christ did not complete salvation perfectly with His suffering--or that it is no longer powerful. For if we believe that He has once offered, saved and paid eternally for us, that is, the believers, then it must be a blasphemy which states otherwise--even as if it were not previously accomplished.

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138. Thomas Cardinal Cajetan (Thomas De Vio), held with Thomas Aquinas, to a view of the sacrifice of the Mass as unlimited in efficacy, even as Christ's death on the Cross. Opuscula Omnia, Vol. II: col. 110f. (tr. "The Celebration of the Mass," Forerunners of the Reformation, pp. 256-265): "First we note that the Mass has two parts, sacrifice and prayer, of which the sacrifice is the foremost part." Forerunners, p. 257.

139. Calvin considers the papal Mass a sacrilege which profaned and annihilated Christ's Supper. Institutes, IV. xviii. 1-20 (BN V: 417-454, tr. LCC 21: 1429-1448).

140. Luther objects to the Mass sacrifice because this makes the Mass into a good work of man, thereby obscuring the Gospel. See Treatise on the New Testament. WA6: 364, 367 (tr. LW35: 93, 97).

The other horrifying blasphemy follows because no one may sacrifice anything higher than himself, a sacrifice about which Paul teaches in Romans Chapter 12: "I ask you, dear brothers, through the mercy of God, that you offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, a holy sacrifice, a sacrifice pleasing to God, and that your service come from your mind and heart." [Romans 12: 1] Observe that this is the highest sacrifice which man can offer: himself. Now if he undertakes to sacrifice God, he blasphemes Him; for he is making himself so great as if he were able to sacrifice God. But the Christian may sacrifice no one other than himself. For as the sacrifice must be pure, so also must the priest be pure. Now if we have no priest in the entire human race without sin other than Christ alone--then also can no one sacrifice Him other than He Himself. And therefore, any man who calls himself a sacrificer takes Christ's honor away from Him and gives it to himself. This is intolerable and horrible.

The two weaknesses are these:

The first is that the false meaning of sacrifice has planted and encouraged wickedness. For all robbers, usurers, traitors, murderers, and adulterers have believed that their actions would be just if they let a Mass be said for their misdeeds. It is clear that they have sinned thereby. One sees this in their maintenance of the religious foundations and purchase of masses, which they would not support unless it were the last refuge. They have loved possessions well! [661: 1]

The other weakness follows from combining so great a temporal good with the Mass and for that reason calling it a fruitless sacrifice.[141] Even if it were a sacrifice it would still be an abomination to take money and rewards of temporal possessions for it.[142] Yet, this was not enough. They also used the possessions outrageously and entirely deprived the poor of that which belonged first to them. For, the greater part of all the alms has been made use of in that way.

For this purpose they have been as oppressive as they could be.

In the first place, they have called their eating a Mass,[143] which is as much as a sacrifice or a sent sacrifice;[144] but, as said above, it cannot be such. For Christ has instituted it only once and in one way, and has not named it a sacrifice or mass but a testament and memorial. Therefore, this name is incorrectly imposed on the body and blood of Christ.

Also, they have cut off one kind, namely the blood, which is never given to the common man, though Christ had instituted the practice.[145]

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141. "erdicht opfer." 661: 1.

142. Calvin compares the sale of masses to the betrayal of Judas. Institutes, IV. xviii. 14 (BN V: 429-430, tr. LCC 21: 1442-1443): "Judas, once; these, as often as they find a buyer."

143. Gwalter: "Primo enim coenae dominicae administrationem, quam illi soli obibant, Missam dixerunt mutato ueteri uocabulo, hostiam nimirum intelligentes, quam illi deo mitterent." 277: 26-29. For Zwingli's treatment of the problems involved in calling the Mass a sacrifice, see De canone missae epichiresis, CR II: 567: 8-569: 13.

144. "als vil als ein opfer oder ein gesandtes opfer." 661: 10.

145. See Luther, Exhortation to All Clergy, WA30/2: 320 (tr. LW34: 38), and Commentary on the Alleged Imperial Edict, WA30/3: 339 (tr. LW34: 73).

This is only to insure, therefore, that it be considered a sacrifice, and not different from the many other ceremonies, vestments, crosses, and peculiar opinions.[146]

In order that it may become obvious to every man how Christ instituted this food for the soul one should actually look at the words of Christ which are in Matthew Chapter 26 [Matthew 26: 26-29], Mark Chapter 14 [Mark 14: 22-25], and Luke Chapter 22 [Luke 22: 19f.] and give them to the people to understand.[147] The same will be much clearer from the words of Paul of I Corinthians 11: [23-26], which we also will set forth here as our own: "I have declared to you what I have received or learned from God, namely, that the Lord Jesus took bread the night He was betrayed, and after He gave thanks, He broke it and said, 'Take. Eat. This is my body which is broken for you. Do this in my memory.'" These are the words concerning the body.[148] Here we see in the first

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146. Luther, Lectures on Genesis: "From the sacrament of the Eucharist the pope has not only removed the cup and--contrary to what is right--taken it away from the church; but he has changed Christ's testament into a sacrifice and a work that is done from profit. In short, he has buried Christ completely and has attributed righteousness to his own traditions and to forms of worship that have been established beyond and contrary to the Word." WA42: 634-635 (tr. LW3: 122).

147. Calvin, Institutes, IV. xvii. 20 (BN V: 366-370, tr. LCC 21: 1382-1385).

148. Note that Zwingli has not yet developed his exegetical method to the point that he can interpret "is" by "signifies." In the Responsio ad epistolam Ioannis Bugenhagii, CR IV: 558-588, Zwingli remarks that he had known that he should interpret "This is my body" figuratively, but that it was not until he had read the letter of Cornelius Hoen that he understood "is" to mean "signifies." Zwingli did not read Hoen's letter until 1524, after he had written the Instruction. Hoen's letter is found in CR IV: 512-518 (tr. "A Most Christian Letter," Forerunners of the Reformation, pp. 268-278).

place that Christ says, "the body, which is broken for you", that is, as I now [662: 1] break the bread for you so will I be afflicted and killed for you. Next He says, "Do this in my memory." [I Corinthians 11: 24] See. He himself calls it a memorial. Nor did His sacrifice come immediately after the night's meal wherein He gave the disciples His flesh and blood, but the day after when He died on the cross. Hence, His flesh and blood shall be a remembrance of these things which He has done--as they came later. Now follows the word concerning the blood: "The same also, the cup after the supper saying, 'This cup, the New Testament, is in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in my memory. For as often as you will eat the bread, and drink the cup, you preach the death of the Lord, until he will come." [I Corinthians 11: 25-26] These are the words concerning the blood of Christ wherein we shall first understand that this word "cup" is named here for the word "drink." Later He calls the drink the "New Testament", that is, the new covenant and legacy.[149] For, as stated above, by shedding his blood Christ has reconciled us again to His Heavenly Father and made an eternal covenant through which we can come to God. If we look at the characteristics of a testament we will see it is a legacy which is administered when its author dies. Thus, the testament of Christ is first given in His death on the cross. Even

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149. Similar analogies are made by Luther in his Treatise on the New Testament WA6: 357, 359 (tr. LW35: 84, 86-87). In his Commentary on Psalm 111 he speaks of the sacrament as the remembrance of Christ's covenant. WA31/1: 417 (tr. LW13: 377).

as the chances are small for man's making a testament such as Christ's, so also is his ability to sacrifice equally as small. However, man can think again about what Christ has done. And if man trusts in Christ's suffering and salvation he becomes saved. Of this Christ has left a certain, safe sign[150] of his flesh and blood, and has called these two eating and drinking both in his memory.[151] And to insure the celebration of this memory Paul says (and quite exactly), "For, as often as you will eat the bread and drink the drink, you shall proclaim the death of the Lord." [I Corinthians 11: 26] We learn that the legitimate use of this sacrament is as follows: as often in the year as the church wishes, one shall proclaim and preach the suffering and death of Christ,[152] telling how much good and peace has been brought to us, and for the strengthening of the faithful one shall eat with them the body and blood of Christ. This, in short, is the simple wish and intention of Christ.[153]

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150. "zeichen." 662: 26.

151. "die bede essen und trincken zuo gedaechtnus sin." 662: 27.

152. Calvin, Institutes, IV. xiv. 4 (BN V: 261-262, tr. LCC 21: 1279-1280).

153. Zwingli's purpose here is not to present a lengthy analysis of the Eucharist such as will be found later in his major Eucharistic writings. Rather, his primary concern is to attack the central abuses of Catholic Eucharistic thought, which prohibit true worship by concentrating on external and corporeal ceremonies. It was Zwingli's concern for true religion that was behind his attacking the Mass as a sacrifice, that is, as a good work of man which contributed to his salvation. It was not until the controversy with Luther that Zwingli developed the view of the Eucharist that is associated with his name. See especially Eine klare

If we now see that the Mass had no special institution except as men regarded it a sacrifice (for this sacrament is nothing but the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ)[154] then shall all men accept the abolition of these misdeeds, such as asserting for oneself the sacrificing for others--nevertheless, with such prudence and discretion that a riot does not occur. For, if one finds it to his advantage he will abolish the abuses. Therefore, the preachers shall excuse the ordinary mass-priests everywhere. For, since these errors did not spring from them, they shall not suffer for them. Let all men be admonished so that they may depart in freedom as they came. For the greater part of these are so old that they cannot be set to work. And no Christian shall destroy the work of God for the sake of food. [Romans 14: 20] However, where some are considered entirely unsuitable--by opposition without basis in the Word of God--then shall no private person act against them; rather, let the government handle them as it is fitting.[155] For, in short: if the Almighty God revealed

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Unterrichtung vom Nachtmahl Christi, February , 1526 (tr. "On the Lord's Supper," LCC 24: 185-238), and Amica Exegesis, id est: expositio eucharistiae negocii ad Martinum Lutherum (February, 1527), CR V: 548-758. An extensive literature is available on the subject. The definitive work is that done by Koehler, Zwingli und Luther, II vols. Also see W. Koehler, "Zu Zwinglis aeltester Abendmahlsauffassung," Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte, Vol. XLV, (1926), pp. 176-185.

154. This comment is reminiscent of a statement by Luther in the Lectures on Genesis: "And in the Lord's Supper He is present in such an extraordinary way that the Son of God Himself gives us His body with the bread and His blood with the wine." WA43: 32 (tr. LW3: 220).

155. Calvin, Institutes, IV. xi. 3-4 (BN V: 199-200, tr. LCC 21: 1215-1216).

His Word, then man must see that he complies with it, or he will invite the wrath of God on himself.

[9] Conclusion

As stated before, if you have completed by yourself what you are obliged to do, and what we have set before you, then we have in God the certain hope that He will make His Word fruitful and increase His honor by our reformation and peaceful lives. May God give this to us through Jesus Christ, our Savior and Keeper. Amen!

Completed on the 17th day of November, 1523.

## APPENDIX I

### ZWINGLI'S RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN THE MASS CANON

Note: The following passage is a translation of CR II: 600: 7-608: 29. It is the concluding portion of Zwingli's De Canone Missae, which gives the Reformer's recommended changes in the liturgy in Zurich. Since this passage is not otherwise available in English this writer feels that it should be appended to this study of the nature and development of the Zurich Reformation. The translation was prepared by Mr. Henry Preble for Samuel M. Jackson's edition of The Latin Works of Huldreich Zwingli, but was never published. Professor Ford Lewis Battles and this writer discovered this treatise and several other translated writings of Zwingli in the office of Professor Robert Handy of Union Theological Seminary, New York, during the Spring of 1966. Most of the writings were intended for publication in the fourth volume of Zwingli's Works, a volume which would have contained Zwingli's major Eucharistic writings; but, circumstances prevented that publication. This writer made a typescript of the handwritten copy submitted to S. M. Jackson on January 20, 1900. Preble's translation is basically sound, and only occasional revisions have been made by this author in comparison to the critical text in an effort to update Preble's English where necessary.

Having destroyed the Canon, it remains for me to exhibit something better, and I am well aware how full of arrogance the promise to do so may seem to be, though only to those who are displeased by everything that is done with right understanding. I am not going to bring forward, therefore, anything which is not adapted to the norm of the divine word, and this I want understood as applying to the Canon I am going to offer. First, however, I will say something about the things that precede and follow the Canon.

I do not greatly condemn the vestments which are worn by the celebrant of the heavenly supper, so far as their form is concerned. For who would not be moved by a head covered in the manner Christ's was covered in the house of Caiaphas [Cf. Mark 14: 65]. Only let our heads be honestly covered, for to display, as we do now, smooth rosy cheeks is more excessive ornamentation than imitation of the sufferings of Christ. The long garment, which we call an alba, the alb, represents the garment which was bestowed upon Christ in mockery by Herod [Cf. Luke 23: 11]; hence I would rather have it hang loose than be girded up, except so far as we gather it up for the performance of our duties. The chasuble also ought to be purple at all seasons, as the alb should be white. The strip that is worn on the left wrist is approved if it is a symbol of the column at which Christ was bound and scourged [Cf. John 19: 1]. In like manner what we now call a stole, although it really is not a stole, if it typifies the other bonds. But the rest of the lavish display of gold, silver, gems, and silk I am so far from approving that I consider it a great insult to Christ. It is an avaricious invention flaunting itself in hypocritical disguise. We should look on Christ alone. Whatever is done otherwise than he did is wrong. A complete book would have to be written on the luxury of the ecclesiastical world if one wanted to confute it worthily.

The introduction which we call "Introitus" (for I will pass by the other things that different celebrants put on) should be taken only from the sacred writings. If anything of the kind has been got from

other sources they should be scorned and the sacred words put in their place.

"Kyrie eleison" is "domine, miserere nobis, [Lord have mercy on us.]" "Christe eleison" is "Christe miserere, [Christ have mercy.]"

"Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas "Glory be to God on high and peace on earth and good will to men.]", and the rest. This seems to me to be the most worthy of all prayers of a Christian man. For it has the form of a creed, a hymn of praise, and a prayer. This is readily evident to whoever considers it.

If the prayer which is then poured forth in the name of all Christians is the one for the occasion, as they call it, let it be spoken publicly without any hesitation. If it contains anything about the saints and intercession, let it be put away, and recourse be had to some general prayer. The reading is taken only from the sacred writings. What I should like to have done here shall be explained later when I come to that part of the subject.

The anabathmicon, which we call "Graduale, [the Gradual]", should be restricted to a shorter measure of notes. For what is more loathesome to hear than the roaring out of so many words on one tone? And the Gradual also should be from the sacred writings only.

The Hallelujah, that is "laudate deum, [praise God]", we treat with too much superstitious punctiliousness. At one time we keep away from it as persistently as the Jews from pork, at another we keep at it long enough to tire even a deaf man. And we never use it without nauseating ourselves with its interminable repetition, like a harpist strumming

along upon one chord, to say nothing about our having begun to do away with the sacred words and to roar out our own. I miss moderation in the repetition of the words here as much as anywhere.

The prose passages which they call "Sequentia" are generally old wives' tales and most crude rhythms. I think we should do away with them. If, however, any of them happen to savor of Christ, let them be chanted more frequently in place of the old womanish ones.

The "Gospel" follows, and with it a candle is lighted because the Gospel is light, but when it is read in Latin in Germany, and hardly one or two understand, what is this but preventing its understanding, which is the same thing as hiding your candle under a bushel? [Cf. Matt. 5: 15; Mark 4: 21; Luke 11: 33] Those, therefore, who read out the Gospel before God's people in a language which they do not generally understand, begrudge the sheep the voice of the shepherd. Hence, although I see that some concessions must be made to the feeble, I say that he who makes any concession in the reading of the Gospel is guilty of sin. For that is the word of life, and he who hides it takes away life. I beseech all, therefore, who belong to God, before all things to read the Gospel of Christ in public in the language of the congregation, and also the "Epistle", as they call it. And, if in the reading of either, anything occurs which is hard to understand, let them explain it in a few words suited to the occasion, till everything finally shall be given in the vernacular. If the day is Sunday or another holiday, let them go into the exposition of the Gospel a little more at length.

After the exposition of the Gospel follows the Creed established by the second synod at Nicaea. This is nothing else than the confession of faith we have just heard in the exposition of the Gospel. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. [Rom. 10: 10]

Next comes an outpouring of song by which we lure contributions like Sirens. One bustles about here, another swings the censer, another gathers the offerings into a plate so that none may escape, and the gentle priest meanwhile wipes off some speck on the altar with the edge of his vestments. To keep this type of greed from ever sprouting up again it should be banished far away. All things that have been customarily done and said between the Creed and the Preface should simply be cut out. Then, having placed the bread and wine in the appropriate places, we shall arouse devotion thus:

"Dominus vobiscum etc. [the Lord be with you etc.]" "Sursum corda etc. [Let us lift up our hearts etc.]" "Gratias agamus domino deo nostro, [Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.]" "Vere dignum et iustum est etc. [it is truly meet and just etc.]" "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus etc. [Holy, Holy, Holy, etc.]." I have not moved the Canon from its place, but in place of that which we have thus far used I put another, well knowing how I shall be reviled in various places, some accusing me of impudence, others of impiety. And they would not be wrong in doing so, if the previous Canon were free from fault, but since that was introduced into the churches not only with audacity, but even with the utmost recklessness, and has first been proved guilty by me of impiety, it is

not audacious to abandon anything so erroneous, but manly courage, nor is it impious to have thus routed impiety; rather, it is true worship of God. And here I give no law unto any man to prevent him from praying otherwise than I am going to pray, but I allow every man freely to follow his own mind. Would that our forefathers had done the same! For what difference could it make which prayers one said either before or after the action ascribed to Christ? Must we all to such a degree live according to the prescription of one untaught head, or even of many heads who are yet plainly untaught, not to say impious? Let every man pray as he pleases, according to the inspiration of the divine spirit. I propose to use the following prayers and acts. If anyone be pleased with them, he may use them; if not, let him use his own, or return to the husks. I want also to say to the pious reader that--after having deliberated some time whether it were expedient on account of certain feeble brethren to retain the same order and number of prayers with different words and sentiments, lest they might shrink too much from a new tradition--I was almost inclined to copy the old formula. I find, however, after careful examination of the whole situation, that the order in the old canon is just as faulty as the words and sentiments. For, to say nothing of the other points which I shall treat in the proper places, I am before all dissatisfied with the fact that partaking does not follow immediately upon the blessing though the apostles partook immediately upon the presentation of the mystery. This was the reason I decided that for a short time, though not unprofitably, the feeble brethren must be looked after in another

way. If there are any so weak they do not venture to abandon the abuses and adopt at once what is in accordance with Christ's intentions, they must be fed upon milk for a while, until they can manage solid food. [Cf. Hebr. 5: 12] It must be borne in mind, however, that I am not going to indulge them with a view to their remaining weak forever--but to their growing constantly stronger. For the time being, so long as apprehension prevents their doing otherwise, whenever they come upon the words "victim," "offering," "we sacrifice" and similar words, let them say something different to themselves from what these words imply, that is for "victim" let them understand the victim Christ sacrificed once for all. Let them interpret "victim" and "sacrifice" in their hearts as "commemoration," and instead of "we sacrifice" let them think "we commemorate or call to mind." When they come to the intercession of the saints, let them omit the prayer. I would rather the prayer for the departed were not combined with the notion of profit. Let them modify it so as to think of the dead only as the word of God teaches, and to say "Thy will be done." Although these things are all hard to do, I hope the weak will find them a little more satisfactory than if we were left without any guidance. But, to return to the subject, after we have sung with the heavenly choir to the omnipotent and thrice holy God, let us address our prayers to Him thus: --

"Te igitur clementissime terque sancte pater, [Thee, therefore, most merciful and thrice holy Father,]" (1) who created man in the beginning that he might enjoy paradise here and Thyself hereafter, (2) from which grace he fell by his own fault, wherefore also he was justly

condemned to death, (3) thus so vitiating all his posterity that there would be absolutely no hope of life left, hadst not Thou who alone art good, determined by Thy goodness to lighten his troubles, (4) by which goodness Thou also didst promise the seed that would bruise the head of the seductive tempter, that miserable man might not waste away in everlasting despair, (5) and didst, when the time appointed by Thee had been fulfilled, give the promised seed, (6) Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who by means of the unspotted and perpetual virgin Mary took upon himself flesh, (7) that he might become for us a high priest without blemish, for whom none but a victim absolutely without blemish was suitable (8) and who when such could not be found among all the multitude of mankind, offered himself to be sacrificed for the lost, (9) and not content with that, gave himself to us for food and drink, that we lack nothing. (10) Thee, I say, most beneficent Father, we entreat that the praise of Thy goodness may never fail in our mouths, and though our thankfulness, were it ever so great, could never correspond to Thy bounty, we nevertheless ask Thee, who art ever the same and dost never check the flow of Thy goodness, to make us worthy to sing Thy praise with heart and deed and word, and never to ask for anything not in accord with Thy goodness. This we shall no doubt obtain, if we proffer our praises and prayers to Thee in the words in which thy best beloved Son Our Lord Jesus Christ taught us to address Thee. (11) Being instructed therefore, by his precept, we presume to say, Our Father which art in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into

temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen. (12) God, who not only nourishes man from youth, but also every living animal, we beseech Thee to feed our hungry souls with the food from heaven. For Thou art he who fillest the hungry with good things. Our soul is spirit, fashioned by Thy hand in the likeness of Thine image, and cannot be refreshed by food other than that of the Spirit. Such can be furnished only by the words of Thy mouth. Thy word is Truth. For Thou art truth, from which nothing can come forth but what is true, holy, strong and undefiled. We pray therefore, O Lord, that Thou wilt never deprive us of the food of Thy word, but nourish us by Thy continual goodness. For Thy Word is the bread which gives life to the world. We shall eat the flesh and drink the blood of Thy Son in vain, unless through faith in Thy word we firmly believe before all things that this same Son of Thine, Our Lord Jesus Christ, nailed to the cross for us, atoned for the transgressions of the whole world. For He Himself said that the flesh profiteth nothing, it is the spirit that quickeneth. That we may, therefore, be quickened by Thy Spirit, do Thou never, I pray, take Thy word from us. By it Thy spirit is brought to us as in a vehicle; it returns not to Thee void. By Thy word alone the human heart is set free, for it alone is true, and Thou hast promised through Thy Son that if the truth frees us we shall indeed be free. [Cf. John 8: 32] Grant, therefore, that we may never lack the nourishment of Thy word, which alone renders us free and secure of salvation. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who lives and reigns with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

(13) Taught, therefore, O Lord, by Thy word that heaven and earth shall pass away rather than Thy word, we firmly believe that not one jot of it shall ever perish. Hence, as we believe that Thy Son was sacrificed but once for us, reconciling us to the Father, so also do we firmly believe that He gave Himself as food for our souls under the form of bread and wine, that the remembrance of His bountiful deed might never fade. If our faith begins to waver anywhere, increase it in us. Grant that as The Son by means of the insults and bitterness of His crucifixion brought us back into favor with Thee, and won eternal delights for us, we may also, eating His flesh and drinking His blood, follow His example, and by His guidance and protection conquer the trials and afflictions of this world. Toward this end He gave Himself for food that, as He had conquered the world we too, feeding upon Him, might be inspired with courage to conquer the world. We shall boast in vain that we give the account of what He Himself did, if we proclaim this by words alone. Grant Thou, therefore, most merciful Father, through Christ Thy Son our Lord, through whom Thou quickenest, renewest and governest all things, that we may express him by our deeds, and that the image once blotted out in Adam may in this way recover its form. That this may more effectually and firmly be ours, grant that as many as partake of the food of this body and blood of Thy Son, may breathe and express Him only, and may themselves become one in Him who is one with Thee. Through the same Christ our Lord.

(14) God, who has revealed through Him than whom none greater has arisen among those born of woman, that Thy Son i s the lamb who takes

away our sins, now also suffer Thyself to be invoked through that lamb, and when we cry 'Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us', benevolently pardon all guilt. It was for this He suffered, that we might perpetually have access to Thee through Him, for this He wished to be clothed with our weakness, that we might be made strong in Him, for this He gave Himself as food, that nourished on Him we might grow unto His fulness of life as perfect man. Draw our hearts, Lord, by the light of Thy grace to approach worthily, that is, in due faith, to this most sacred supper of Thy Son where He is both host and feast.

(15) For the night He was betrayed, He took bread and, giving thanks, blessed and broke it, gave it to His disciples, and said:

(16) "Take and eat. This is my body which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me."

(17) In like manner He took also the cup after they had eaten, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying:

(18) "Drink all of this. For this is my blood of the new testament, shed for you to the remission of sins. Do this as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me."

(19) "For as often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death till he come."

"Come, therefore, all you who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ be effectual for you unto everlasting life. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be effectual for you unto everlasting life." Let the minister say the same at

his own partaking, changing the person of the pronoun. After the heavenly supper, let him say, "For all Thy goods, and blessings we give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, who lives and reigns, etc." "Now let Thou Thy servant, O Lord, etc."

The "Complementa" as they call them, should be said if they belong to the giving of thanks, otherwise if they have to do with a sacrifice or the intercession of the saints, they should be omitted, and recourse had to the general prayers. "The Lord be with you," and the benediction, should be said, but without the words, "Ite. missa est, [Go, The mass is over.]"

Now I will explain the things marked with numerals above.

(1) It was necessary to know before all things the condition of man originally that (2) in the second place the transgression and condemnation, which (3) followed and vitiated all posterity, might be the better understood. (4) God's commiseration is indicated by the foreshadowing of the Gospel. (5) The promise of the seed which is Christ brings its comfort. (6) The Gospel comes at length as the good tidings of God. (7) For Christ is given as a spotless priest unto us, (8) is made a sacrifice, (9) and gives Himself to us for food. (10) A return to the Father, and preparation for the Lord's Prayer. (11) The Lord's Prayer first demands faith that we may call upon the Father. Then we pray that His name be honoured; afterwards, for the things needful to us. (12) This prayer pleads for the food of the Word, which alone is the cause of faith and salvation. I have omitted the prayer for the magistracy and for the church that no chink be opened to mercen-

ary profit. These prayers should be offered earlier in the customary public way when the Gospel is expounded. (13) A second prayer for the food of the body and blood of Christ as that which we must eat to imitate him. (14) Looks to the remission of sins. It seemed unnecessary to ask for anything further than is contained in the Lord's Prayer. (15-18) The words of Matthew, Luke, Mark, and Paul [Matth. 26: 29; Luke 19: 20; Mark 14: 22-25; I Cor. 11: 23-25.].

I had determined to explain everything more at length, but the convenience of the printer allowed nothing further, and I have yielded to him on this occasion. Enough has been said and done, I think, for the pious; for each will fill out for himself what he misses here and will thereby confer a kindness upon me. I have simply furnished others a starting point from which to go into the matter more deeply. My works are not afraid of public gaze; for I know in whose name they are done. Take this in just and good part, you who are just and pious. The rest I care not for. I commend myself to the lovingkindness of all the brethren.

## APPENDIX II

### AN INDEX TO ZWINGLI'S THREE 'ROYAL TREATISES'

It has been the intent of this writer to present the thought of Zwingli as it developed during the early period of his reformatory activity, i.e., until the victory of the reformed church in Zurich in 1524. In an attempt to keep from reading the later Zwingli too much into the earlier Zwingli, it has been necessary to include only occasional references to his later thought.

Zwingli's major systematic theological statements, however, came after the year 1524--the so-called 'Royal Treatises' of 1525, 1530, and 1531. The 'Royal Treatises' are those statements that were dedicated to reigning sovereigns. In order to facilitate reference to the thought of those major theological statements, the following index has been prepared. It will provide the reader with a synoptic overview of the thought of the later Zwingli and will enable one to make ready comparisons with other theologians by providing a means for ascertaining the locations of particular Zwinglian doctrines. It will be obvious that the thought of Zwingli has been somewhat juggled in order to present a coherent system. This will enable the reader to pursue a more clearly systematic course, which Zwingli himself often did not.

The Commentary on True and False Religion of March, 1525, was dedicated to Francis I of France. This treatise, the most complete of the three, is one of the first systematic statements of Protestant doctrine. It is this treatise which serves as the basis for the synoptic outline presented here. The reader will find the numbers within brackets to be section numbers, and the pages numbers as the pages of Volume Three of The Latin Works of Huldreich Zwingli edited by Clarence Heller. An Account of the Faith was submitted to the German Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. The page numbers refer to Volume Two of The Latin Works of Huldreich Zwingli edited by William John Hinke. The third treatise, An Exposition of the Faith, 1531, is ordered after the Apostles' Creed and was also dedicated to Francis I. The system of annotation is the same as that used on the Commentary, with the source being the twenty-fourth volume of the Library of Christian Classics.

SYNOPSIS OF THE THOUGHT OF ZWINGLI AS FOUND IN THE THREE ROYAL TREATISES:
Commentary on True and False Religion, 1525
Account of the Faith, 1530
Exposition of the Faith, 1531

I. Religion
  A. Commentary
    1. The word religion [1] pp 56-58
      a. Derived from verb 'relegere' - 'to go over again' 'to peruse'
      b. The word embraces the whole of Christian piety: faith, life, worship
    2. The elements of religion [2] p 58
      a. That toward which relgion reaches, i.e., God
      b. That which reaches out by means of religion, i.e., man
    3. True religion, steps of [5] pp 87-90 cf. also [11] p. 156.
      a. God's revealing man to himself
      b. Man's recognition of his disobedience
      c. Man utterly despairs of his position
      d. God shows the ample store of his own bounty
      e. Man realizes that he cannot be torn away from God
      f. Man then clings to God alone as the essence of true piety
    4. True and false piety [5] pp. 91-93
      a. True piety
        (1) The eagerness to live according to the will of God
        (2) Possible only when man sees that He cannot please God on his own
        (3) Makes the same demands on man that marriage makes on partners
      b. False piety
        (1) Trust in any other than God
        (2) Trust in any created thing
        (3) Trust in man's word rather than God's
    5. Demands of true religion [5] pp 92-97
      a. That we learn from God in what way we can please him
      b. That we add nothing to what we have learned from him
      c. That we lean on God alone, from whom alone is every good

II. God
  A. Commentary [3] pp. 58-75
    1. Natural knowledge of God
      a. Many have known God naturally
      b. Yet this knowledge did not lead to worship of God
      c. Such knowledge has led to the idols of the heathen and the philosophers
    2. True knowledge of God
      a. Comes from God alone, not from the philosophers
      b. Consists that there is only one true and omnipotent God
      c. Leads to faith in God
    3. Nature of God
      a. Infinitely and eternally separated from man
      b. Yet, God is the source and fountain of being
      c. He alone has being from himself

d. He gives himself to that which he has created
(1) This is widely attested to in Scripture
(2) It would be vain and fruitless for Him to do otherwise
e. He exercises complete providence over his creation

B. Account pp. 36-38
1. God is by nature good, true, powerful, just, wise [1]
2. God is supreme deity [1]
a. He is not contingent in any way [1]
(1) He surveys the universe with a single look
(2) He has no need of reasoning processes, nor of waiting for events
b. He is free to determine all things [2]
c. His goodness is total, and supremely visible in everything he does [2]
(1) In his forming man
(2) In his clothing his son in humanity to save man
d. Supreme mercy and justice are contained in his supreme goodness [2]

C. Exposition pp. 246-251
1. God alone is uncreated
2. Only the eternal and infinite God is the basis of faith
a. Hence the collapse of foolish confidence in created things as sacred
b. Such a basis demands that no faith be put in saints or sacraments
3. There is nothing before or beside God that is not God
4. Nature of God
a. Goodness
b. Loving, kind and gracious
c. Holy, just and impassible
5. Justice of God
a. The justice of God demanded an atonement for the sin of man
b. The justice of God was satisfied by the Son of God
6. Mercy of God
a. Provided the means of man's salvation
b. Evidenced in God's giving himself for our salvation

III. Man

A. Commentary [4] pp 75-87
1. Knowledge of man
a. Not possible by man's own power
b. Only possible with help of God who knows man completely
2. Man created in the image of God
3. Death came to man in Adam
a. Not just physical, natural death
b. It was the death of sin
4. Man as sinner
a. Is guilty of self-love
(1) Scriptures prove it
(2) Cicero proves it in the Archias
b. The entire imagination of man is evil
c. Man becomes sinner when he follows himself rather than God
d. Does not possess free choice, i.e., more than a proneness to sin
e. Man must remain sinner unless he undergoes a change

IV. CHRIST

A. Commentary

1. Christ is the certainty and pledge of the grace of God [6] 98-100
2. The work of Christ [6] pp 98-114
   a. A work to satisfy God's justice
   b. A work prepared from the very beginning of human misery
   c. A work of creation and restoration of man
   d. The second Adam who restored in every way that which the First destroyed
   e. Prophesied countless times in the Old Testament
   f. What he bore, he bore for us
3. Christ is only way of salvation [7] pp 126-129
   a. Scripture attests to this
   b. If there were any other way to be saved, then Christ's work would be in vai
4. Born necessarily of the Virgin Mary [6] p 112
   a. Because the divine nature could not suffer any taint of original sin
   b. Because there could not be any blemish on the sacrificial victim
5. Christ is the same thing as love [9] p 138

B. Account pp 39-40

1. Christ, the Son, assumed flesh, human nature [2]
   a. So that there were two natures, human and divine
   b. But the unity of the person was not broken, although
      (1) In accordance with the human nature, he grows, hungers, thirsts, etc.
      (2) In accordance with the divine nature, he controls the highest and the lowest
      (3) Sometimes human things are ascribed to the divine, vice versa
   c. That man has soul and body, in unity, proves that the Son could assume human nature
2. Christ alone is the expiation of our sin [3]
3. Only Christ is sufficient pledge of divine goodness and mercy [3]
   a. Hence there is no justification or satisfaction from our own good works
   b. Only the God-man Christ Jesus is the mediator

C. Exposition pp 251-253

1. Christ Jesus was the Son of God
2. Divine nature
   a. Was not destroyed in any way
   b. He was God in every respect
3. Human nature
   a. Nor was his human nature passed
   b. He was in every way man, except for the propensity to sin
   c. Received human nature in the Virgin
   d. Only the human nature suffered
4. The two natures were one
   a. There was no actual division
   b. They were one in much the same way that a man who sleeps and thinks is one
5. Work of Christ
   a. All that Christ does is ours
   b. His work makes possible our resurrection

V. The Gospel and Justification
   A. Commentary [7] pp 118-130
      1. Nature of the Gospel
         a. That which saves the believer
         b. The 'good news' that comes with Christ
      2. Content of the Gospel
         a. That sins are forgiven
         b. That God will not condemn the believer, if he repents
      3. The steps of justification
         a. Man through repentance comes to knowledge of himself
         b. Wholly distrusting himself, man comes to full refuge in God's mercy
         c. Man is made afraid by the justice of God
         d. Christ appears to satisfy the divine justice for man's sin
         e. Then, after faith in Christ, salvation is found

VI. Repentance
   A. Commentary [9] pp 131-136
      1. Not a temporary exercise
         a. The need for it never stops
         b. Therefore, it is to be exercised continually
      2. Essence of repentance
         a. Abnegation of self
         b. Neglecting everything else and following God
      3. Value of repentance
         a. Does not give salvation, only Christ saves from sin
         b. But it is valuable for keeping the person on guard against sin

VII. Law
   A. Commentary
      1. The law is the eternal will of God [9] p 137
         a. Hence it proceeds from God
         b. Since it is eternal, it can never be abrogated
      2. Through the Law comes the knowledge of sin [9] p 137
      3. Christ is the end of the Law [9] p 138
      4. Freedom from the law [10] pp 140-144
         a. When redeemed we are free to follow the will of God, i.e., the law
            (1) We act freely, not out of compulsion
            (2) We do for love that which we know will please God
         b. When we are redeemed we are free from the condemnation of the law
            (1) We are not under the law, but grace
            (2) Grace does not condemn us
            (3) Christ has satisfied the requirements of the law for us

VIII. Sin
   A. Commentary
      1. Twofold sense of sin [10] pp 138-140
         a. Disease which is contracted from the author of our race
            (1) A defect which is native to man
            (2) A defect which causes us to shun the burdensome and pursue the pleasan
         b. That which is contrary to the law

2. How the disease becomes the law breaker [10] pp 139-140
   a. The disease does not like anything that God likes
   b. Therefore it acts contrary to the determined will of God
3. Flesh versus Spirit [10] pp 144-148
   a. In constant battle
   b. Man is nothing but flesh if left to himself alone
   c. Life in the spirit overcomes the flesh
   d. Way of flesh against God
      (1) To live carnally is to be wholly given over to the sway of flesh
      (2) Those who are in flesh cannot please God
4. Man free from sin: the new man [10] pp 148-153
   a. Does have a new physical body
   b. Has, rather, a new spiritual heart
5. Sin against the Holy Spirit [11] pp 153-156
   a. It is the sin of disbelief, or lack of faith
   b. The sin that never fears or worships God
   c. The one sin which leads to death
6. All sin, except the sin against the Holy Spirit, may be forgiven [10] p 153

B. Account pp 40-42 [4]
1. Sin, properly understood, is an offense
2. Original sin
   a. Incurred first by our primeval ancestor
      (1) Upon taking the forbidden and fatal fruit
      (2) Thus receiving the status of slave, though he deserved death
   b. Original sin is properly a disease and a condition
      (1) We are born slaves
      (2) We do not actually perpetrate a definite crime
      (3) Hence, as applied to us, original sin is not strictly a sin
   c. The result of the sin of Adam is discord with God

C. Exposition pp 268-269
1. The sin of man made the sacrifice of Christ necessary
2. The forgiveness of sins
   a. Forgiveness is granted when we pray to God through Christ
   b. It is by faith that sins are forgiven
      (1) It is only the Holy Ghost that can give faith
      (2) So it is only the Holy Ghost that can give the forgiveness of sins
3. Those who have been forgiven know that they are among the Elect
4. Only God knows everyone that has been forgiven

IX. The Keys

A. Commentary [12] pp 157-176
1. Erroneous conceptions
   a. That the keys are the authority given to priest whereby he can loose and bind according to his own free will
   b. Others attribute all the power to the word of God, administered by the priest merely as an instrument or organ

2. To whom given
   a. Not to Peter alone
      (1) Christ alone, not Peter, is ground of the church
      (2) Peter did not have the power to send out disciples
   b. Keys given to anyone who recognizes that Christ is the Son of God
3. Function of keys
   a. To loose the impious from his impiety
   b. To admit the new born into the number of the brethren
4. What are the keys?
   a. Papalists say they are the authority conferred upon man by God
   b. Christ says that they are the faith by which the Gospel is believed
      (1) By which we trust in the righteousness and merit of the Son of God
      (2) By which we utterly deny and cast ourselves aside
   c. Basically, the keys are the administering of the gospel, and the withdrawal of it where there is unbelief in obstinate fashion

X. The Church
   A. Commentary [13] pp 176-178
      1. Distortions of church
         a. Some apply church to only a few persons
         b. The word church does not refer to just a few people
      2. The church is a congregation, the whole people, the whole multitude
      3. Contentions in the church are unchristian
         a. Since it is Christian to love
         b. There are no contentions based on love
   B. Account [6] pp 43-46
      1. Various meanings for 'church'
         a. The elect
            (1) Those who have been predestined to eternal life
            (2) Only God knows who is a member of this church
            (3) But those who are the Elect know because the Spirit cannot deceive
            (4) And, of course, there are many of the Elect who do not have faith yet
         b. In the general sense: all those who call themselves Christians
            (1) Thus, all who profess Christ's name
            (2) Many reprobates among this group
         c. 'Church' is also taken to mean every particular congregation of the visible church
      2. The Zwinglian view
         a. There is one church of those who have the same Spirit
         b. The church cannot err in regard to truth
         c. The visible, universal church, is one as long as it maintains the true confession of Christ
         d. Those who belong to the true church give their adherence to it according to the rule and promise of God's word
         e. To this church belong Issac, Jacob, Judah, and all who were of the seed of Abraham, and who were sealed by Christ's token: circumcision
         f. In the same manner, the infants of the first parents in the early church were also members of the church because they were baptized

C. Exposition pp 265-266
1. Invisible church
a. The Church which knows and embraces God by the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit
b. To this church belong all who believe the whole world over
c. These are the believers known only to God and themselves
2. Visible Church
a. All who make profession in Christ
b. Many who are not really in the Elect are members of this church
3. The church needs government
a. Without the government the church is maimed and impotent
b. There is a need for the government to punish flagrant sinners

XI. Sacraments
A. Commentary [15] pp 179-184
1. Erroneous assertions
a. That sacrament is something holy which can by its own power free the conscience
b. That the sacrament is a symbol of a sacred thing which nonetheless on the occasion of its celebration brings inward purification
c. That it is a sign of assurance to the recipient of the forgiveness that has taken place
2. Ancient useages did not reflect a sacred and secret meaning of word 'sacrament'
a. Once meant 'oath' in France and Italy
b. In military that by which soldiers were bound to obey generals
c. For Varro, a pledge which litigants deposited at some altar
3. Sacrament is an initiatory ceremony or pledging
4. Sacrament in itself has no power to convert the conscience
a. Only God can convert the conscience
b. To suggest that the sacrament has this power is to err
5. Sacrament does not create awareness of state of forgiveness
a. For, faith is not a secret apart from celebration of the sacrament
b. Whoever is already forgiven knows that he is before the celebration
6. There are, properly speaking, only two sacraments
a. Lord's Supper
b. Baptism
B. Account [7] pp 46-48
1. Sacraments not conveyers of grace
a. The gift of grace is a gift of the Spirit alone
(1) The Spirit breathes wherever it wishes
(2) A channel or vehicle of the Spirit is not necessary
b. Scriptures do not say that sacraments carry the Spirit with them, nor is Spirit limited to the sacraments in Scripture
(1) Or the Spirit would be wherever the sacraments are carried
(2) And where they were not the Spirit would not be
2. Theologians cannot maintain that the proper disposition of the subject is demanded as the prerequisite of the sacrament
a. If we can prepare ourselves to receive grace, prevenient grace is nothing
b. And, for them to be logical, it would mean that they say it is necessary for us to receive a prior sacrament as preparation for a sacrament
c. But, if we can be prepared before the sacrament, then the Spirit is evident where there is no sacrament
3. Sacraments are given as a public testimony of grace which is previously present in every individual

4. Sacraments are signs of a grace that has been given by God to the individual
   a. The Word is added to the element and it becomes a sacrament [Augustine]
   b. Because of this element of grace, it may be said that the sacraments are indeed sacred ceremonies
   c. Hence, the sacrament should be highly cherished, even though it does not bestow grace
5. To think of the sacraments as conveyers of grace would be a return to Judaism
6. The Anabaptists in denying baptism to infants are entirely wrong

C. Exposition pp 262-265
1. Not even under the guise of piety ought anything be attributed to the sacraments that might jeopardize religion and truth
2. The virtue of the sacraments
   a. They are sacred and venerable things instituted and received by the great High Priest Christ himself
   b. They testify to historical facts
   c. They take the place, and name, of that which they signify
      (1) Since, for example, the body of Christ and all that happened to it cannot be exhibited to us
      (2) The bread and wine take the place of Christ for the purposes of exhibition when we consume them
   d. They represent high values
   e. The sacraments augment faith and are an aid to it
      (1) In the sacramental celebration the senses are turned aside from the devil
      (2) In the celebration we are pledged to faith
   f. They act as an oath of allegiance
      (1) In the Latin the word sacramentum is used of an oath
      (2) It is an oath which brings the people of Christ together

XII. Marriage
A. Commentary [16] pp 184-185
1. Dignity of marriage not impaired by its not being a sacrament
2. A married couple should be as like unto God as possible
3. Wedlock is a most holy thing, and should be considered such
4. Wives of ministers [21] pp 257-260
   a. It is not forbidden for ministers to marry
   b. It is often necessary to marry to avoid falling into sin

XIII. Baptism
A. Commentary [17] pp 185-197
1. An initiation by which those marked themselves out who were going to mend their lives
2. Baptism of the Holy Spirit
   a. The baptism by which all are flooded within who trust in Christ
   b. The external baptism of those who are allowed to speak in tongues
      (1) This was a sign to others
      (2) Does not bring salvation
3. Baptism of Christ and John the Baptist are not different in any way
   a. Neither in mode
   b. Nor in content
   c. If there had been a difference, then Christ would have had to baptize
4. Baptism of infants
   a. This is to be followed
   b. Comparable to circumcision of Jewish infants

B. Account [7] pp 47-48
1. Recipients of baptism
a. One who has confessed the religion of Christ
b. Or one who has the word of promise, whereby he is known to belong to the church, e.g., infants
2. Prerequisites to baptism
a. When we baptize an adult we ask whether he believes
b. When we baptize an infant, we ask whether the adults give the child in baptism
3. Infant baptism is the New Testament parallel to circumcision
a. So that, just as Jewish infants were accepted, so are the infants of Christians accepted as being in the church by divine promise
b. Thus, the baptized infant has been symbolically circumcized

XIV The Eucharist
A. Commentary [18] pp 198-253
1. The Eucharist is a thanksgiving
2. True meaning of John 6 shows that Christ was not referring to the sacramental eating of his own natural body
a. Christ bid us seek the food that does not perish
(1) This is nothing else than to work the work of God
(2) The work of God that we are to do is to believe in Christ, and this is the food referred to
(3) It is a food that will not allow us to hunger or thirst again
(a) Not a physical food
(b) Refers to spiritual hungering and thirsting
b. The physical is not important
(1) We are not saved by the physical nature of Christ
(2) It is the divine nature that saves
c. The nature of the atonement proves that we are not to eat the body of Christ in order to be saved
(1) For, we are saved by the death of Christ
(2) We are not saved by the eating of Christ
d. Flesh of Christ profits nothing in eating, only in sacrifice
e. Only erroneous conceptions of faith could accept this interpretation
(1) For faith does not have its origin in man's decision
(2) Faith does not apply in regard to things of the senses
(a) Faith believes only in the remote
(b) Why should anyone have faith in that which he can see?
3. Everyone is free to hold whatever view of spiritual manducation he wishes
a. Provided he rests on Christ's dicta
b. Provided he hears what I have to offer
4. True meaning of the Eucharist
a. Rests on a symbolical interpretation of the texts
b. Rests on interpreting the word 'is' as meaning 'signifies'
5. Two syllogisms which support the Zwinglian view
a. First, proving that the repeated sacrifice of the sacrament is not needed

(1) The blood of Christ alone takes away our sins
(2) But the blood of Christ was offered once only
(3) Therefore, the blood of Christ, offered once for all, endures forever to remove the sins of man

b. Secondly, that Christ cannot be offered again
(1) Christ is offered only when He suffers, sheds His blood, dies
(2) Christ can no more die, suffer, shed His blood
(3) Therefore, Christ can no more be offered up, for he cannot die

6. The witness of the sacrament
a. Those who partake bear witness by this that they are members of one body
b. By partaking they show evidence to the others that they will continually follow Christ

7. Support of the Fathers in matter of symbolic interpretation
a. Tertullian: Against Marcion, I: 14
b. Augustine
(1) Expositions on the Psalms: Psalm 3:1
(2) Homilies on the Gospel of John, Tractate 27: 1-2
c. Origen
(1) Insists that essential thing in this sacrament is the faith by which we believe that Christ is the sacrifice for us
(2) Insists that Christ is spiritual, not physical, food
d. Hilary: Commentary on St. Matthew 9: 8

B. Account [8] pp 49-56

1. The true body of Christ is present by the contemplation of faith
a. In this everything done by Christ becomes as it were present to recipients by contemplation of faith
b. But, it is not the natural body of Christ

2. Testimonies which deny presence of Christ's body anywhere but in Heaven
a. Words of Christ indicate his natural body no longer present here
(1) "The poor ye have always. . . me ye have not. . . ." [John 12: 8]
(a) Presence of body alone is denied
(b) No foundation exists for assuming humanity is where his divinity is
[1. Although Deity is everywhere
[2. Humanity is in one spot: Heaven
(c) The sun is an example of Christ in this regard
[1. Body of sun in one place
[2. Influence of sun is pervasive
(2) ". . . I leave the world and go to the Father." [John 16: 28]
(3) "A little while and you shall not see me." [John 16: 16]
(4) "I am no more in the world." [John 17: 11]
b. Testimony of others indicate the natural body not present
(1) Luke: "While he blessed them...caried up into Heaven." [Lk 24: 51]
(2) Mark: ". . . He was received up into Heaven, and sat at the right hand of God." [Mk 16: 19]
(3) In Acts [1:1] we are told that Christ will return in similar fashion to his ascent to Heaven

3. To deprive body of Christ of a particular spatial occupancy is heretical
   a. While on earth he was restricted to places
   b. To say otherwise is to deny Christ's humanity
4. The corporal sacramental eating would be profitless anyway
   a. "The flesh profiteth nothing." [John 6: 63]
   b. The spirit is born only of the Spirit
      (1) A fleshly eating would profit only our flesh
      (2) But a spiritual eating, our spirit
   c. Hence, as the body is not nourished by spiritual substance, so the soul is not nourished by the corporal
5. A figurative interpretation necessary of 'This is my Body'
   a. The Passover as an example
      (1) The words 'This is Jehovah's Passover' [Ex 12: 11] are understood figuratively
         (a) The lamb was not the passover
         (b) But symbolized the passing over
      (2) Christ used similar words in the institution of the Eucharist which was to replace the passover
   b. Furthermore, memorials characteristically take the name of the thing they commemorate [synecdoche]
      (1) Thus, those things are called the body and blood of Christ
      (2) Which are only symbols of the true body and blood
6. If natural body is present in Eucharist, then disciples ate it with Christ before he died
7. The ancients agree that the natural body is not eaten
   a. Ambrose in Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians
   b. Augustine
      (1) Thirtieth Discourse on John
         (a) Affirms that the body of Christ must be in one place
         (b) Thus showing that He thought of a spiritual eating
      (2) In the twelfth chapter Against Adimantus
         (a) Shows that expressions like "The blood is the life", "This is my body" are spoken symbolically
         (b) That which is only a sign of the body is called the body
   c. Hence, to condemn us as heretics is to condemn theologians of the Roman Catholic Church
      (1) For the ancients always spoke figuratively concerning the Supper
      (2) It was not the sacramental eating that cleansed the soul, but faith in God through Jesus Christ, as preached by the fathers

C. Exposition pp 254-262
1. Proof that the natural body of Christ not in the sacrament
   a. The natural body which Christ possessed, and possesses, must be in a particular place
      (1) Even Augustine supported this position
      (2) Therefore, the body could not be in several places at once
   b. The natural body is in heaven
      (1) According to Scripture, the body has ascended
      (2) According to Christ himself he has left the world
   c. Therefore, the natural body could not possibly be in the sacrament

(1) Or we would have to drag Christ from Heaven in each celebration
(2) Or we would have suggest that He could be in many places at once
(a) Which is possible for the divine nature
(b) But not for the human

2. The truth is that we eat the body of Christ in a spiritual manner in the sacrament,
   a. Which is equivalent to trusting with heart and soul upon the mercy and goodness of God through Christ
   b. Which is to have assurance of an unbroken faith that God will give us the forgiveness of sins
   c. Which is plainly a symbolic act
      (1) In that we are doing inwardly, spiritually
      (2) What we are attesting to outwardly
3. Partaking unworthily
   a. This is done by eating without faith
   b. This calls down judgment upon the unworthy partaker
4. Requirements before partaking the sacrament
   a. We must examine ourselves before we partake
      (1) To see if we have confessed our sins
      (2) To see if we have trusted completely in Christ
   b. We must be able to rejoice in the fact that we are members of that Church of which Christ is the head
5. The sacrament and the creation of faith
   a. The sacrament creates historical faith, i.e., reminds us of an event
   b. It creates faith in that it bears sure witness of the birth and passion of Christ
      (1) Witnessed to everyone that He suffered
      (2) But, witnessed to the believers only, that he suffered for us
   c. Does not create a saving faith
5. Interpretation of 'This is my body'
   a. Can only be interpreted symbolically
   b. If interpreted other than symbolically
      (1) It would mean that the disciples ate Christ's mortal body
      (2) And that we eat a different one, i.e., the immortal body
6. Physical feeding not necessary to our spiritual growth
   a. The holy faith does not need the physical feeding
   b. The holy faith is content to eat spiritually
7. An analogy proves the value of the sacrament
   a. The physical body is nurture by physical bread and wine
   b. So is the Spirit nurtured by the spiritual bread and wine, i.e., Christ's body and blood

XV. Confession
   A. Commentary [19] pp 253-256
      1. True confession
         a. That by which a man comes to know himself
         b. That by which a man throws himself upon the mercy of God

2. Healing of the sinner comes from God alone, not from the confessional
3. Auricular confession
   a. A consultation in which we receive from God's appointed important advice on how to secure peace of mind
   b. Does not rest on the power of the pope
   c. Does not provide forgiveness
   d. As practiced by the catholics, it is not mentioned in the scriptures
4. Aspects of true confession
   a. To confess is to give thanks to God
   b. To confess is to trust in the Lord
   c. To confess is to acknowledge that of which we are reproached or accused
   d. We confess our sins when we inform someone of our secret guilt in order that he may join us in asking forgiveness

XVI. So-called Sacraments
A. Commentary [20] pp 256-257.
1. Confirmation
   a. Became common among those who first baptized infants
   b. Became possible only because it was no longer necessary to wait for baptism
2. Extreme unction
   a. A human office of kindness
   b. If possible the elders should anoint, massage and pray for the sick
3. Ordination
   a. Is a human invention
   b. Does not bestow a special rank on ministers

XVII. Vows
A. Commentary [22] pp 260-267.
1. Many vows are impious and stupid
2. Chastity
   a. Let those to whom it is given, practice it
   b. It is better to marry than to sin
3. Poverty
   a. There is no use in vowing poverty
   b. All Christians are to be poor in spirit
4. Obedience
   a. All Christians are to humbly obey all other Christians
   b. Obedience is preferable to sacrifice, but obedience to God
5. Two classes of vows
   a. Vowing of what the Lord has already commanded
      (1) To vow what God has commanded already is presumptuous
      (2) The faithful man follows God's will because God has commanded it, not because a vow has been made
   b. Vows beyond what God has commanded
      (1) It is vain to vow more than God has commanded
      (2) Can a man ever do all that God has commanded so that he is free to make a vow?
6. Monkish vows are an evasion of the will of God
   a. Chastity, in that they go a-whoring
   b. Poverty, in that they are richer than any others
   c. Obedience, in that they do not obey God by helping their neighbors

XVIII. Saints

A. Commentary [23] pp 267-271

1. Those who cling to creatures, saints or otherwise, do not worship God
2. We worship the saints truly only when we give ourselves to the God that they gave themselves to
3. It is to God alone that we are to cling

B. Exposition p 247

1. If God did not give the saints such power as we ascribe to them, it is certainly frivolous to worship them
2. The Mother of God would not herself let us worship her as some do
   a. Such unthinking worship is in reality an abuse of her true position
   b. The closer Mary is to God, the less would she allow our worship of her
3. The only true honor we can give to the Saints would be to follow God as they did themselves

XIX. Merit

A. Commentary [24] pp 271-278

1. An awareness of the providence of God is necessary before discussing merit
   a. God exercises his providence over everything
   b. Nothing in creation is too base for God to exercise providence over it
   c. Predestination is born of merit
   d. It is fitting for the God of Providence to know all things before they take place
2. Merit in relation to the providence of God
   a. There can be no merit if all things are done by God
      (1) All merit is from faith which is from God
      (2) God is the author of all good
   b. Consequently, any attempt to claim merit is to deny the providence of God
3. All profession of merit is evil

B. Exposition pp 269-273

1. The merits of man cannot save him
   a. If our works could save us, then the death of Christ was not necessary
   b. If we have any merit of our own there is no need of grace
2. Anything that is not done of faith which is from God is sin and abomination in the sight of God

XX. Prayer

A. Commentary [25] pp 279-283

1. Even true prayer degenerates into opportunity for gain
   a. Such prayer is not to God's glory
   b. Prayer for money is not prayer
2. True prayer
   a. The conversation which one has with God as with a father
   b. Faith is a constant prerequisite to true prayer
3. Public prayers should be in the vernacular

XXI. Purgatory

A. Commentary [16] pp 283-293

1. Holy Scriptures know nothing of the fire of purgatory
2. Purgatory is very much like quack medicines carried about by peddlers
3. Work of Christ forbids the existence of a purgatory
   a. We are saved by grace, not by the merits which take us out of purgatory
   b. If our sins could be cleansed by the fires of purgatory, Christ's work is of no particular value
   c. Access is to the Father through Christ alone, not through purgatory

B. Account [12] pp 58

1. Purgatory is certainly a lucrative business
2. Purgatory is an affront to the idea of salvation freely given by Christ
   a. If such punishments are necessary, then Christ died in vain
   b. What kind of a Christian could believe Christ and still fear this fire?
3. The only real punishment which exists is the hell for unbelievers

C. Exposition pp 253-254

1. Purgatory calls in question the work of Christ
   a. If Christ died for us, why is any other satisfaction necessary?
   b. To trust in our own works is not to trust in Christ
   c. Hence, if we need purgatory, why do we need Christ?
2. Christ nowhere admitted to the existence of a purgatory
3. Purgatory is a papal invention

XXII. Government and the Magisterial Offices

A. Commentary [27] pp 293-318

1. No man is capable of being a good magistrate unless he is a Christian
2. Numerous reasons for thinking that it is possible for a pious man to be a magistrate
   a. Evidence from Moses
      (1) Sets forth the qualities which a magistrate ought to have
         (a) Ability
         (b) Fear of God
         (c) Zeal for truth
         (d) Hatred of covetousness
      (2) The example of Moses applies to us
   b. Peter in I Peter 2: 13-16 absolutely compels obedience to authorities
      (1) This includes impious authorities
      (2) But also pious ones are certainly included
3. Tyranny
   a. When one man assumes dominion on one's own authority, this is tyranny
   b. Christ altogether forbids tyranny
   c. The Roman pope is a good example of tyranny
4. Necessity of magistrates
   a. Magistrates were necessary under the old law
   b. Mankind suffers from the same disease now as under the old law, thus making magistrates necessary
   c. The magistracy can only be abolished when no one sins in tongue or deed
5. Obeying the magistrate
   a. Enjoined by the apostles to obey masters
   b. Paul approves it in Romans 13: 1-7

6. Rulers are set over us for the good of all
   a. They have, therefore, a great responsibility
      (1) They are not to be a terror to good deeds
      (2) They are to consider their position carefully
   b. Magistrates are in reality ministers of God
7. Power of office
   a. Nothing inflames the heart of man more than the power entrusted in the office of a magistrate
   b. Hence, it is a very dangerous thing to entrust power to anyone

B. Account [11] pp 57-58
1. When lawfully installed, the magistrate holds God's place no less than the prophet
   a. As the prophet is a minister of heavenly wisdom and goodness
   b. So the magistrate is the minister of goodness and justice
      (1) Of goodness, in that with fidelity, and moderation he hears and determines concerning the affairs of his people
      (2) Of justice in that he breaks the audacity of the wicked and protects the innocent
2. Hence the Christian obeys the magistrate
   a. Since he is ordained by God
   b. The Christian obeys, at the same time, the tyrant
      (1) Until the time comes that Paul spoke of: "If thou canst become free, use it rather." [I Cor. 7: 21]
      (2) The time to disobey is indicated by God alone
3. Concerning tribute and taxes, I am of the same opinion of Paul in Romans 13

C. Exposition pp 266-268
1. Monarchy
   a. When the control of affairs is in the hands of one man
   b. The corruption of this is tyranny
2. Aristocracy
   a. The rule of the best people
   b. The corruption of this is oligarchy
3. Democracy
   a. The direction of affairs is in the hands of the people
   b. The corruption of this is conspiracy or tumult
4. Obedience
   a. If the ruler is just then he is to be continually obeyed
   b. If the ruler is unjust
      (1) He is still to be obeyed
      (2) But, he is to be subjected to Christian censure
5. There can be no church without government
6. We teach and advocate the paying of taxes, tributes, dues, tithes
7. The common law should generally be obeyed

XXIII. Offense

A. Commentary [28] pp 318-330
1. Offense in teaching
   a. In teaching there should be a special regard to timeliness
   b. (1) Do not offer too much too soon
      (2) Some are not ready for the 'meat' early in the course

b. Always set forth what is necessary for salvation without dilution, such as
(1) The knowledge of God
(2) The knowledge of man
(3) Knowledge of the Gospel
c. A two-fold principle to be followed
(1) Those things on which faith hinges should be brought out without any delay
(2) The things that militate against faith should be demolished with skill lest they do harm in their downfall

2. Offense in externals
a. Concerning the eating of forbidden foods
(1) There is in reality no food which is forbidden to eat
(2) None are forbidden because the Word of God is free and does not suffer itself to be confined to particular times
(3) Nevertheless, the neighbor ought to be considered before eating
(4) If it is possible to eat after sufficient teaching, then it is completely permissible to do so
b. The regulation of life is most important in avoiding offense
(1) We all ought to walk blamelessly
(2) Our good conduct can encourage others to follow
c. Concerning offense in ceremonies
(1) Ceremonies are on the whole quite useless
(2) Yet, ceremonies are to be maintained if it is necessary for the weakness of the people

B. Account [7] p. 56
1. Ceremonies, and other crutches, which are not contrary to God's Word may be tolerated
2. As soon as it can be done such ceremonies ought to be abolished

XXIV. Statues
A. Commentary [29] pp 330 - 337
1. Statues, images, and other representations are permissible where no worship is offered them
2. Where there is worship involved images are forbidden
3. Christ nowhere suggested the use of images for the purposes of teaching
4. Arguments against the use of images
a. The worship of idols is expressly forbidden in the New Testament and Old Testament
b. It is not safe to conform to any image but His who wishes not to be represented in visible form
c. Images are ineffective for true piety
(1) They cannot kindle a heart to love
(2) They cannot save the sinner
5. Why there are images
a. Lack of faith in God
b. Every man makes a god of that which he hopes can help him when occasion demands

B. Account [9] p. 56
1. Images, which are misused for worship, are diametrically opposed to Word of God
2. Painting and statuary are God's gifts, if not used for worship

XXV. Election

A. Account

1. The election of God remains firm and unchangeable [3] p. 39.
2. The election of God savors of goodness and mercy, as well as justice [3] p. 40
   a. It is goodness to elect whomever He wills
   b. It is justice to unite us with Christ who has become the victim to satisfy divine justice
3. It is through election that the redemption of sinners by the Second Adam is effective [5] pp 42-43
   a. It is an election which necessarily precedes faith
   b. It is a secret election known in its entirety to God alone
      (1) Thus, some are elected who do not yet have faith
      (2) And these ought not to be condemned by us, since we don't know God's secrets
   c. The infants of church members are to be considered among the elect
      (1) Even as the Jewish infants belonged as much as the Jews themselves
      (2) If it were not so with our children, then the fulfilling of God's promise among the Gentiles would not be carried out

B. Exposition p. 291

1. Election of God is free and gratuitous
2. The elect are chosen before the world began
3. The Elect are not chosen on the basis of merit

XXVI. Prophesying and Preaching

A. Account [10] pp 56-57

1. Wherever prophets or preachers are sent, it is a sign of God's grace
   a. For God is manifesting a knowledge of himself to the Elect
   b. And also enabling magistrates to maintain public justice more effectively
2. The papists are not true preachers
   a. They possess only the bishop's mitre and staff
   b. "They are in the body ecclesiastical what goiters and hunchbacks are in the human body."

XXVII. Eternal Life

A. Exposition pp 273 - 276.

1. There is life after death
2. The soul does not sleep until the resurrection
   a. The soul can never sleep
   b. Wherever the soul is there is vitality, and not sleep
   c. Scriptures support this
      (1) We are given eternal life immediately upon believing
      (2) It is a life that is not to be interrupted even by sleep
3. Eternal life can never be exhausted
4. Partakers of eternal life
   a. Every good man since the world began
   b. Even some classical heroes
      (1) Theseus
      (2) Socrates
      (3) Hercules
      (4) Aristides

XXVIII. Anabaptists

A. Exposition pp 276-279.

1. Life and Conduct
   a. A decadent type of men
   b. Vagrants
   c. They trade on the enticement of old women by grandiose speeches on divine things
2. Teachings
   a. That it is unlawful for a Christian to be a magistrate
   b. That a Christian cannot kill
      (1) Neither in the case of law
      (2) Or in the case of an evil-doer
   c. That a Christian must not participate in warfare
   d. Taking oaths forbidden
   e. No tolls or taxes
   f. That the Christian ought to have all things in common with the brethren
   g. That on departing this life the soul of the Christian will sleep with the body
   h. That the Christian may have several wives in the spirit
   i. That the Christian ought not to pay tithes, dues or innumerable other things
3. They are scattering errors every day
4. We are the most bitter enemies of the Anabaptists

List of Abbreviations: The following abbreviations will be used:

| | |
|---|---|
| ANF | The Ante-Nicene Fathers |
| B | Summa Theologiae, tr. by Black Friars |
| BN | Calvin, Institutio Christianae Religionis 1559 |
| Bullinger I | Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte |
| BW | Luther, The Bondage of the Will |
| CR | Huldreich Zwinglis Saemtliche Werke (Corpus Reformatorum) |
| DB | Deutsche Bibel |
| Farner 1 | Huldrych Zwingli, Vol.I |
| Farner 3 | Huldrych Zwingli, Vol.II |
| Gwalter | Brevis et Christiana in Evangelicam Doctrinam Isagoge, tr. by Rodolpho Gualthero |
| Jackson | The Latin Works of Huldreich Zwingli, 3 vols. |
| LCC 15 | Luther, Lectures on Romans |
| LCC 20, 21 | Calvin, The Institutes of the Christian Religion |
| LCC 24 | Zwingli and Bullinger |
| LW | Luther's Works (American Edition) |
| MPG | Migne's Patrologiae Graeca |
| MPL | Migne's Patrologiae Latina |
| MS | The Complete Writings of Menno Simons |
| NPNF | Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers |
| SCG | Aquinas, Summa Contra Gentiles |
| Selections | Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli |
| ST | Aquinas, Summa Theologica |
| TCF | On the Truth of the Catholic Faith |
| WA | D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar) |
| | |
| 1a | Prima Pars |
| 1a2ae | Prima Secundae |
| 2a2ae | Secunda Secundae |
| 3a | Tertia Pars |

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